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ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME ASSAM CASTES

BY

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(HAMIBURU).

The subject-matter of this paper is the comparative anthropometrical study of some castes of Assam. For this reason, somatic measurements taken by me have been availed of. But I am keenly conscious of the defect in not having enough number of subjects from each caste examined, so as to get undisputed data on the somatology of each of these castes. I have taken twenty-nine kinds of physical measurements on each of the subjects, out of which some have been worked out here, viz.—

1. Colour of Eyes.	7. Circumference of Head.
2. Colour of Hair.	8. Height of Nose.
3. Colour of Skin.	9. Breadth of Nose.
4. Maximum length of Head.	10. Nasal Index.
5. Maximum breadth of Head.	11. Bzygomatic breadth.
6. Cephalic Index.	12. Stature.

In taking these measurements Martin's* method has been followed, and Von Luschan has been consulted as well.

The subjects of the following castes have been examined:—

1. Kayastha	— 14 subjects.	11. Nath	— 8 subjects
2. Kelite	— 30 —	12. Muli	— 9 —
3. Brahman	— 12 —	13. Kalbari	— 1 —
4. Ahom	— 9 —	14. Hangali Dhopa	— 1 —
5. Koch	— 4 —	15. Nafsal	— 1 —
6. San	— 9 —	16. Dimad	— 1 —
7. Kora	— 10 —	17. Jolia	— 1 —
8. Rajbonghi	— 12 —	18. Hal-Chase	— 1 —
9. Muslim	— 3 —	19. Ketenj	— 2 —
10. "Gohari	— 5 —		— 96 —

* R. Martin, "Lehrbuch der Anthropologie," Band. I. Zweite Auflage, 1898. Von Luschan, "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf dem Gebiete der Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte. Sonderausgabe von Neumanns Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Rassen," 2. Auflage, Leipzig.)

Thus the total number of the subjects is 95.

In order to make a comparative study of somatic characteristics of these subjects the figures given below.*

By glancing at the figures it is to be seen that the range of variation is

That means, the range of eye-colour of the subjects fall within the range of Prof. Rudolph Martin's "Eye Table" numbering 7 and 8 which are, however, distinctly grey. Out of

the range of eye-colour of the subjects fall within the range of Prof. Rudolph Martin's "Eye Table" numbering 7 and 8 which are, however, distinctly grey. Out of No. 8 is to be found in a subject (No. 16) of Kalita caste and another subject (No. 65) of Rajbansi caste, and No. 7 is to be found in a subject (No. 71) of Nath caste. The Cacharis who are purely a tribe from the eastern mountain range and speak a language which is now-a-days known as belonging to the Mon-Khmer language group, have dark-brown eye-colour, the range of variation being 2-4.

As regards the colour of hair (examined with E. Fischer's Hair Table), most of the subjects have black hair No. 27 with the exception of three having tawny colour. The natures of hair texture that is to be found amongst the Assam subjects in consideration here are thus: Black, Black and wavy, Black and coarse, Black and curly, Tawny and fine, Tawny and stiff. Regarding this colour and texture of the hair, no line of demarcation can be drawn in caste matter, as different varieties are to be found within the members of the same caste.

Next comes the question of colour of skin. By applying Von Luschan's "Skin Colour Scale" it is found that the range of variation in this matter extends from Nos. 8 to 34. That is, there is a wide range of variation extending from very light (comparatively very fair) complexion to very dark (something like chocolate colour). By arbitrarily taking colour Nos. 1-9 as "very light," Nos. 10-21 as "light brown," Nos. 22-32 as "dark brown," Nos. 33-34 as "very dark," and Nos. 35-36 as "black" it is to be seen that amongst these subjects 1·05% may be called very light, 44·2% as dark brown, 5·26% as very dark. The pure "black" colour is conspicuous by its absence. Amongst the big groups mentioned in this paper, the Kayasthae have skin-colour ranging from Nos. 8 to 22, i.e., from very light to

* Vide p. 14-24.

dark brown. The Kalitas have skin-colour ranging from Nos. 14 to 33, i.e., from light brown to very dark. The Ahoms have colour numbers varying from Nos. 12 to 25, i.e., they are light brown. The two Ahoms have skin-colour No. 12. The Keots, a so-called lower caste, engaged by fishing and agriculture, have the skin-colour ranging from Nos. 21 to 34, i.e., it varies from light brown to very dark. The Naths have skin-colour bearing 22 and 29, i.e., they are dark brown. The Nathas have skin-colour numbers varying from 22 to 34, i.e., from dark brown to very dark. The two Moslems have skin-colour numbers 15 and 16, i.e., they are light brown. The Rajbansis (Rajbansi and Koch) who are still the ruling caste in the state of Cooch-Behar in Bengal have the skin-colour ranging from Nos. 12 to 32, i.e., from light brown to dark brown. The Dosad subject has got skin-colour No. 34, i.e., very dark. The subjects and the remaining castes have skin-colour ranging from 20 to 34, i.e., from light brown to very dark. In total, the dark brown colour predominates; then comes the light brown colour.

Here it should be noted that the colour variations given in the abovementioned eye- and skin-colour tables do not suffice for the shades of colours that are to be found amongst the subjects mentioned in the paper. That means, there are more shades of colours amongst the Indian subjects than are to be found in the aforementioned tables.

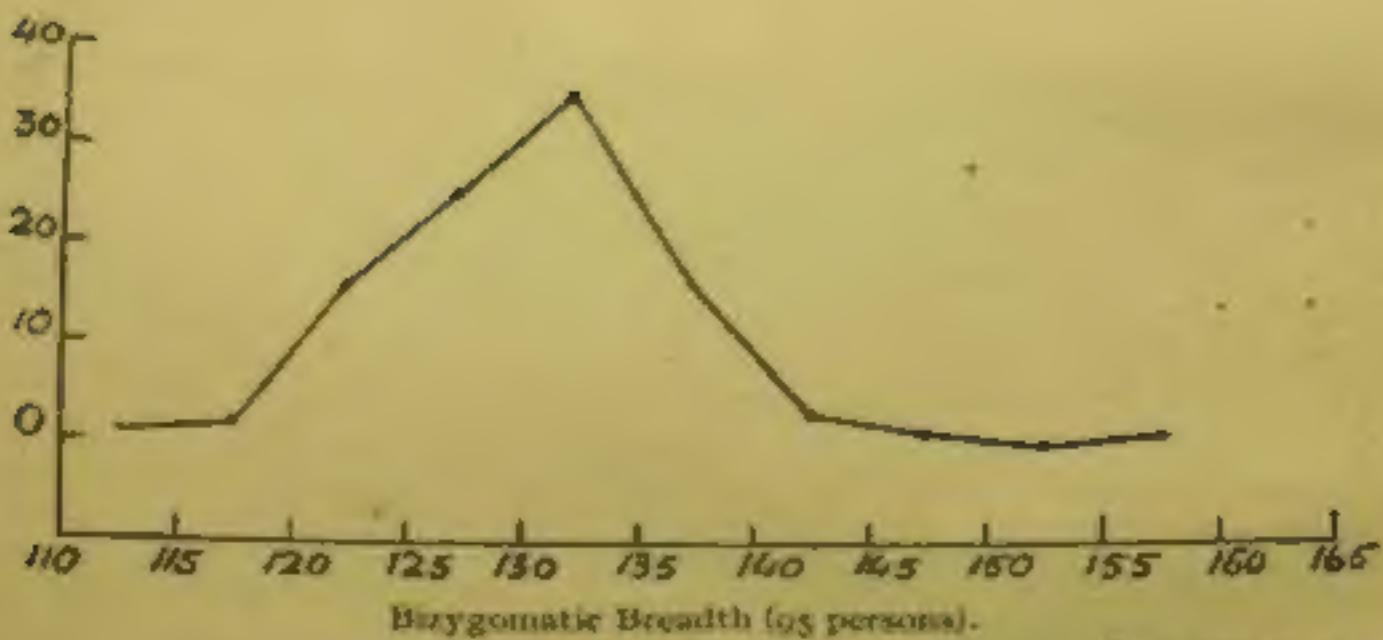
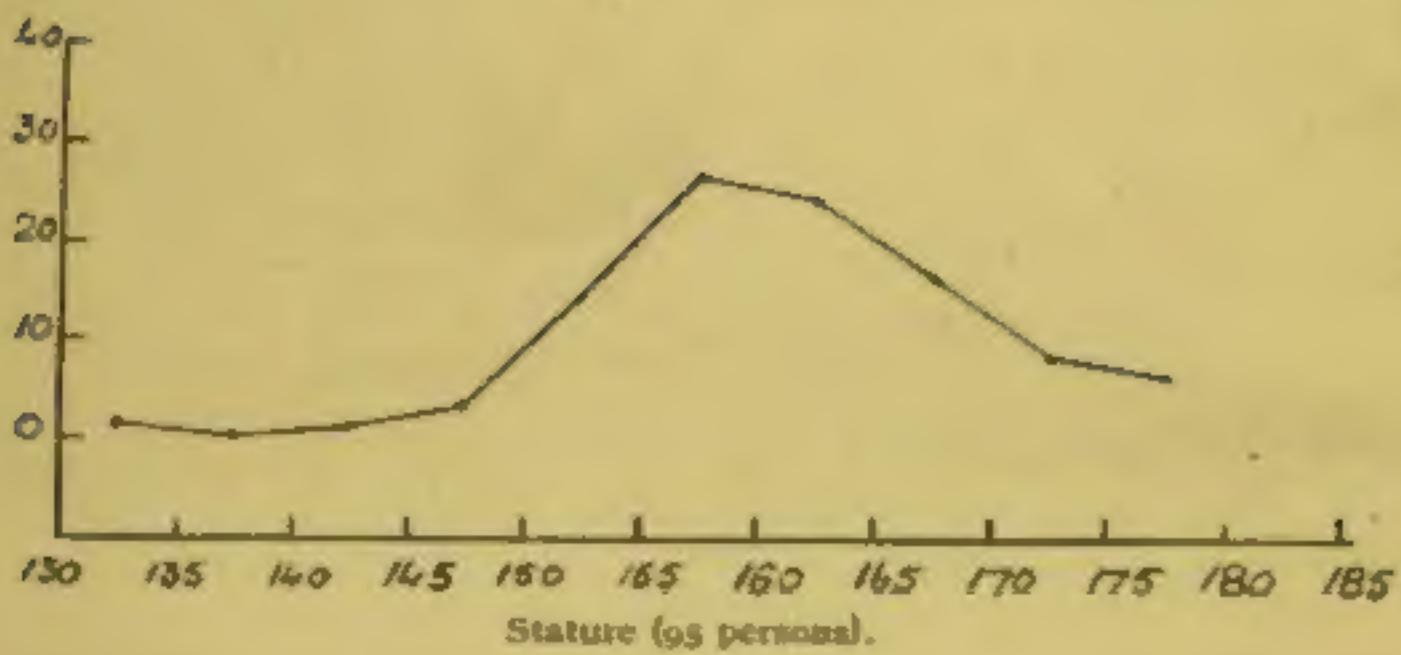
Regarding cephalic indices of the Assam subjects, the variation ranges from 70 to 100, the average index being 800, standard deviation being 4.118. That means from hyperdolichocephaly to ultrabrachycephaly, all varieties do exist.

Amongst the numerous groups mentioned here, the *Kayasthas* have indices varying from 70 to 88, i.e., from hyperdolichocephaly to hyperbrachycephaly different varieties are to be found amongst them. The *Kalitas* have the range of variation extending from 74 to 100, i.e., from dolichocephaly to ultra-brachycephaly different varieties exist amongst them. Of course the solitary instance of index No. 100 may be counted as an abnormality. The *Brahmans* have the indices numbers ranging from 78 to 83, i.e., the mesocephals and brachycephals are to be found amongst them. The two *Ahoms* have Nos. 79 and 84, i.e., they are respectively mesocephals and brachycephals. The

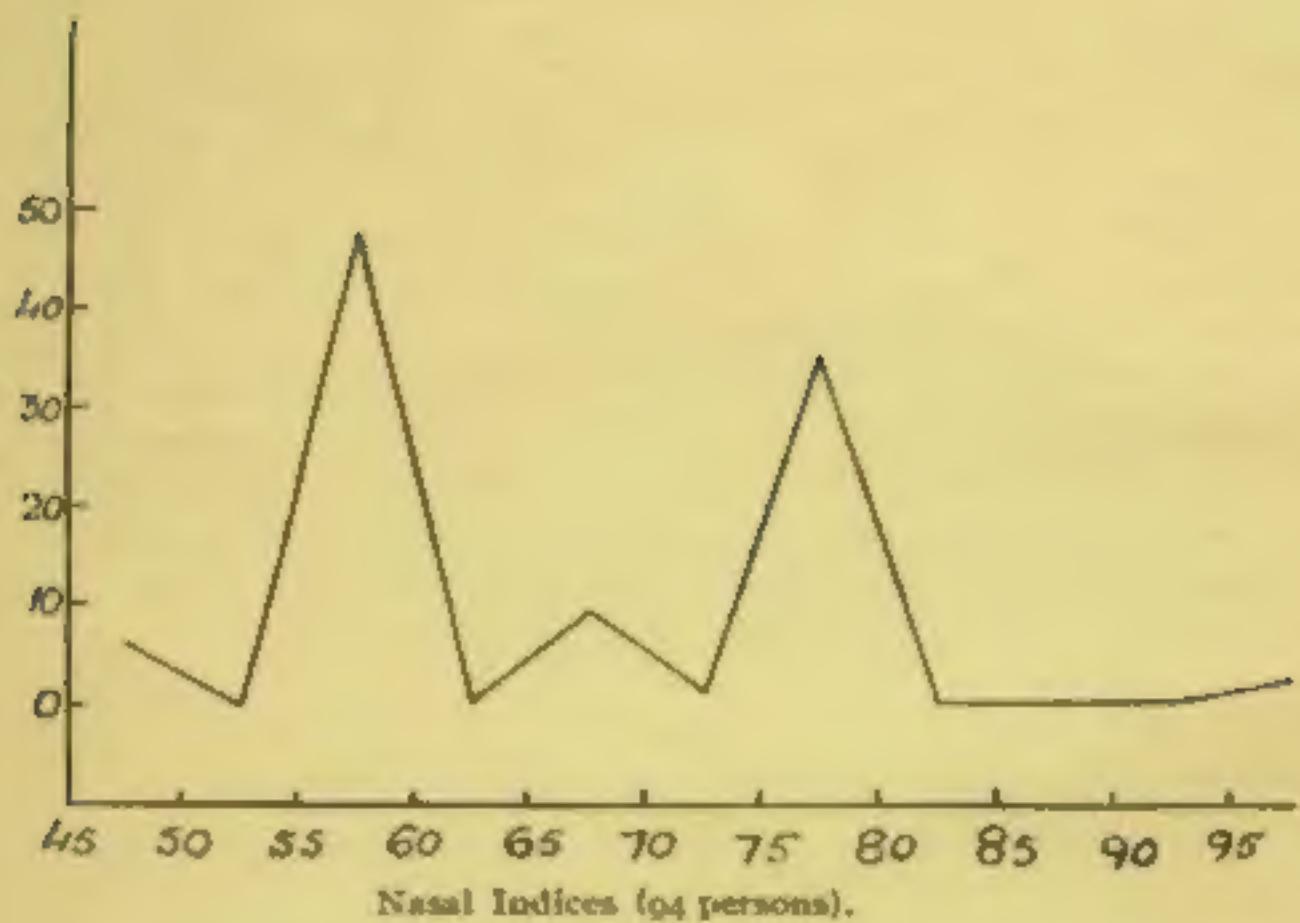
Koch and Rajbari (they are the same caste) have the numbers ranging from 72 to 83, i.e., the varieties extending from dolichocephaly to brachycephaly are to be found amongst them. The Kots have indices ranging from 74 to 83, i.e., from dolichocephaly to brachycephaly varieties are to be found amongst them. The Nathis have cephalic indices varying from 78 to 83, i.e., they have mesocephalic and brachycephalic characteristics amongst them. As regards the solitary examples of two Saus, they have indices of 74 and 79, i.e., they are of dolichocephalic and mesocephalic characteristics. As regards the two Moslem subjects who are put here for comparison, they have the identical index of 83, i.e., they are brachycephals.

The average Nasal index of the Assam subjects is 67.83, S. 11.05 and the range of variation extends from 50 to 100. That means, from hyperleptorrhinc to hyperchamoerhinc characteristics all varieties are to be found amongst them. Amongst those, the Kacharis have the nasal indices ranging from 60 to 100, i.e., from leptorrhinc to chamoerhinc all characteristics exist amongst them.

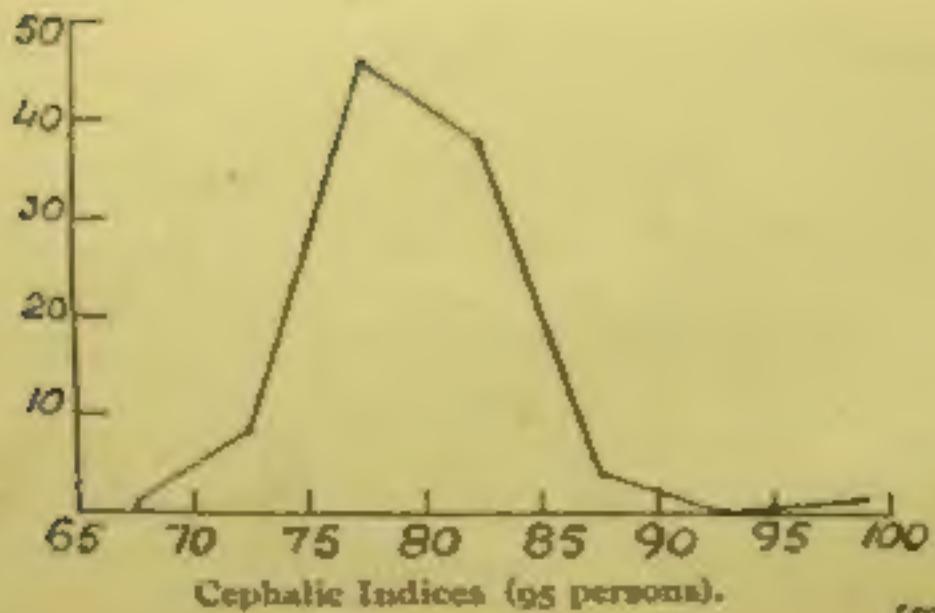
Amongst the Kalitas twelve subjects have the indices ranging from 50 to 67 which signify their leptorrhinc characteristic, while five have No. 80 which falls within mesorrhinc group and there is a solitary instance of index No. 100 which is of chamoerhinc characteristic. Amongst the Brahmans seven subjects have the indices varying from 50 to 67 which show that they are leptorrhines, five subjects have the index of 80 which signify their mesorrhinc character. The two Ahoms have the identical nasal index of 80 which makes them fall within the mesorrhinc group. Amongst the Rajbari and Koch, twelve subjects have the indices varying from 50 to 67 which make them leptorrhines, while the remaining four have the indices ranging from 75 to 80, i.e., they are mesorrhines. Amongst the Gacharis one is a leptorrhine (index No. 60), three are mesorrhines (index No. 80), while the remainder is chamoerhine (index No. 100). Amongst the Nathis, four have the range of variation from 50 to 60, i.e., they are leptorrhines, while the remaining one is a mesorrhine (index No. 80). Amongst the two Mals, the one is a leptorrhine (No. 60) while the other is mesorrhine (index No. 80). The two Saus are likewise leptorrhines (index No. 67) and mesorrhines (index No. 80). The same is the case with the two Moslem subjects.



[To face p. 5.]



Nasal Indices (94 persons).



Cephalic Indices (95 persons).

(To face p. 5.)



As regards stature, the range of variation extends from 131 cm. to 180 cm., i.e. from "Small" to "Tall" various groups exist amongst these subjects.

By examining the cephalic index curve of the subjects of the Assam castes in question here, one sees that the highest point reached in the curve is between the indices numbers 76-80 (*i.e.*, 6%) and there are lower points on the right and left of it. It shows the asymmetry of the curve which proves that it is composed of heterogeneous elements. The lowest point falling on the left of it is within the indices area 66-70 (1%) and the lowest point on the right of it falls within the area 96-100 (1%). The curve shows that it covers a dolichocephalic area extending from 68 to 75 reaching its highest percentage at 9%, and a mesocephalic area extending from 76 to 80 having its highest percentage at 46%, and a brachycephalic area extending from 81 to 100. The highest percentage reached in this group is 4%. By counting dolichocephaly and mesocephaly as the two varieties of the same characteristic, we find that the majority of the subjects mentioned in this paper are of long-skulled variety, *i.e.*, they are *dolichoids*.

By looking at the nasal indices curve, we find the indices to be grouped into two important areas, with smaller areas around them. The peak of the biggest area falls between the indices Nos. 56-60 (47%) while the other peak falls between Nos. 76-80 (34%). The curve shows the heterogeneous characteristic of the nasal form of the subjects, the majority being leptorrhines while the rest are mesorrhines and chamoerhines, the last being 2%.

By examining the bizygomatic breadth (average 130, S. D. 2.2) curve it is to be seen that the highest concentration falls within the indices area of 131-135 (35%). But there are higher and smaller index numbers around it.

By regarding the stature (average 161.77 cm., S. D. 7.8) curve it is to be seen that it is an asymmetrical curve having its highest point falling between indices numbers 156-160 (26%), which shows that this area falls within the category of "medium-sized." The curve betrays the non-homogeneous character of the subjects in the matter of stature also. The curve further shows that about 29% (131-155 cm.) falls within the nomenclature "short," about 46% (158-167 cm.)

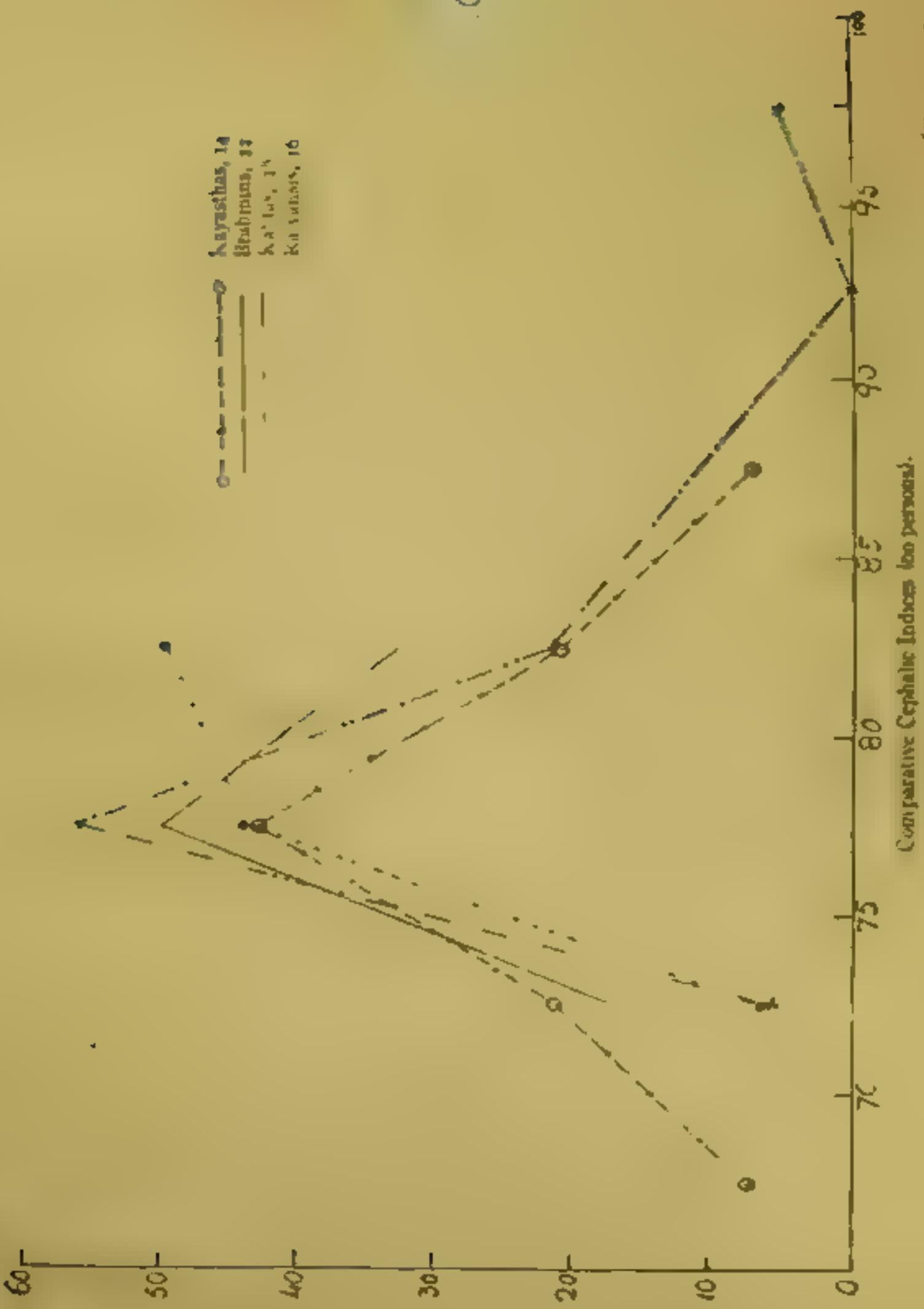
"moderate-sized" and 2% as "tall." Of course there are extreme "short" types and extreme "tall" individuals within the extremities of these groups.

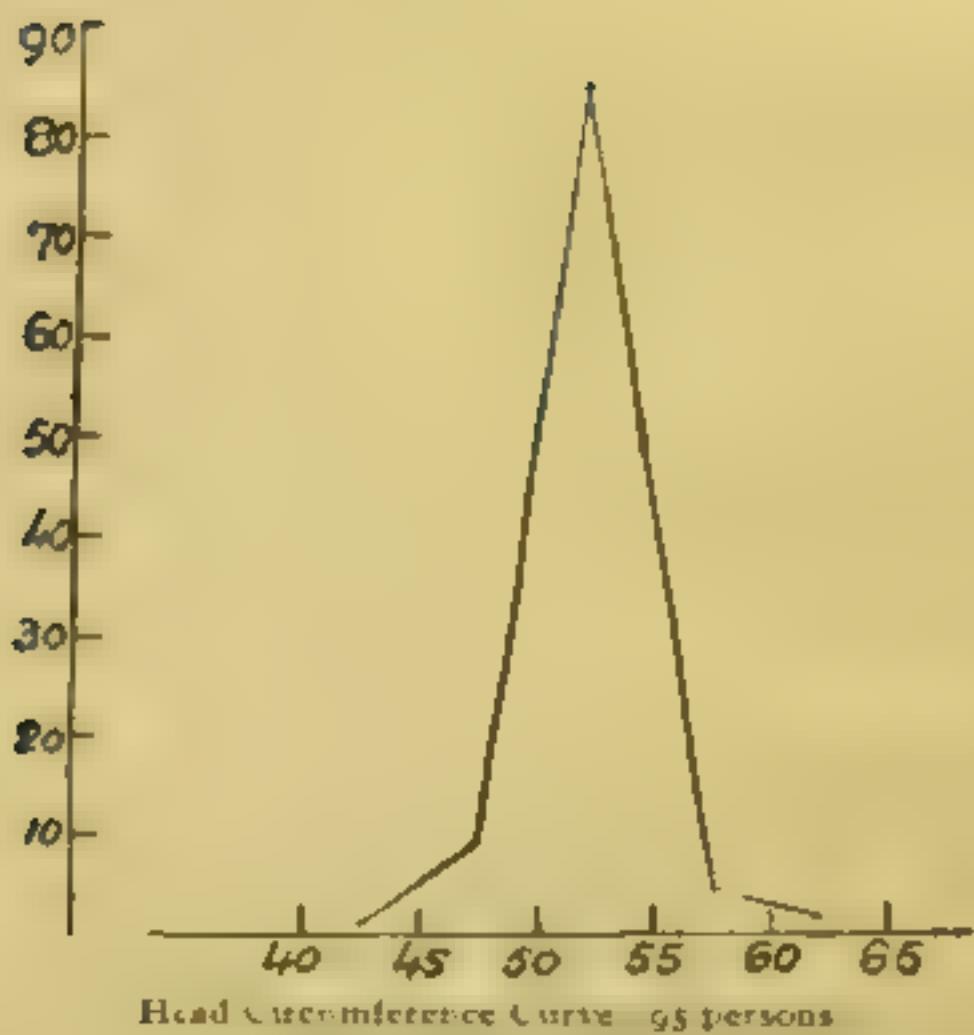
By making a comparative study of the cephalic indices curves of the four important castes mentioned in the paper it is to be seen that the highest point of the "diamond" area with the Brahmins falls in the same area with 15% with the Koch and the Rajbans; the highest point within the "diamond" area is reached also in the same area with 11% with the Kotsa it is reached at the same area with 55%.

On the other hand, the highest point of the brachycephalic area with the Brahmins falls at the No. 41.8 (C), with the Kayasthas at 48.8 (A); besides it, there is a hyperbrachycephalic area at 80.8% (D) with the Koch and Rajbans at 81.8% (D), with the Kotsas at 81.5% (D) while there is a big hyperbrachycephalic area covering the indices of 90 and 96.100 (total 16%)

Thus by making a comparison of the cephalic indices curves of these castes, we have found out that though the figures of the curves do not agree yet there is a substantial agreement regarding the highest points reached in the diamond variation of the skull form and there are wide divergencies in the brachycephalic form regarding the highest points reached in the areas. Of these the points reached by the Kayasthas and the Koch approach each other while the points reached by the Brahmins and the Kotsas are nearer to each other than to the rest. In the brachycephalic area we see Kayasthas and Kotsas have reached points nearer to each other, while the others are widely divergent from the rest. Finally it is to be seen that first the Brahmins then the Kayasthas have the largest number of dolichocephaly within them, while the Koch and Rajbans have the largest number of brachycephaly in them, and the Kotsas have the smallest number of the same.

The comparative study of the nasal indices curves shows that the highest point of leptorhiny with the Brahmins falls within the indices 41.6 (A) with the Koch within the same indices (40.8%), with the Kayasthas with the same indices (43.5%), with the Kotsas with the same (51%).





[To face p. 7.

On the other hand the highest point of mesorhine with the Brahmins falls within 76-80 (2%), with the Koch and Rajbans within the identical indices (1%) with the Kayasthas within the indices (2%) with the Kalitas at the same place (2%).

As regards barbettery which is to be met only with the Kayasthas the point falls within the index to 100 (7%).

By looking & comparison of nasal ridges we have found out that there is an identical agreement regarding the indices of the leptorrhine and mesorrhine types of the caste compared here. It is evident that these castes have plurirhine character as is common amongst them though in different percentages, as is also apparently being found amongst the Kayasthas, and that being represented by the solitary instance of one subject only it may be called as an abstruse one. It seems that on the average leptorrhine element is dominant, the same phenomenon has also been noticed in the case of the indices of the total number of the subjects.

By looking into the column of the bi-zygomatic breadth indices in the list of measurements we find that the maximum breadth is reached in a Chetia (15.7), while the lowest figure is reached in a Kalita (11.5). On the other hand by looking at the curve we find that the highest point of concentration is reached between the indices are 13.1-13.6 (15.3), and though the curve is an assymetrical one, yet there are gradations within it. Then it seems that as regards bi-zygomatic breadth these groups are not widely divergent from one another.

By glancing at the stature indices we find that ranging from the index No. 1.1 cm. in the case of a subject of the Nath caste to 1.81 cm. in the case of a subject of the same caste there is a gradation of variation. In the matter of stature barring the subject bearing index No. 1.11 cm. which may be said to be abnormal, it cannot be said that the Assam groups are widely divergent from one another.

Regarding head circumference curve (average 52.9%, 8 D - 42%) it is to be seen that the highest point of concentration falls within the indices 51.56 (8.4%).

As regards the somatic characteristics of the two Moslem subjects which have been put here for comparison, it can be said that in somatic characteristics they are indistinguishable from their Hindu

neighbours both of them have black and coarse hair in common with some Hindus and one (No. 95) has the somatic combination of brachycephalic leptorrhine characteristics, the other (No. 96) is a brachycephalic-mesorrhine one as regards stature the former is of "medium" size while the latter falls within the category of "tall".

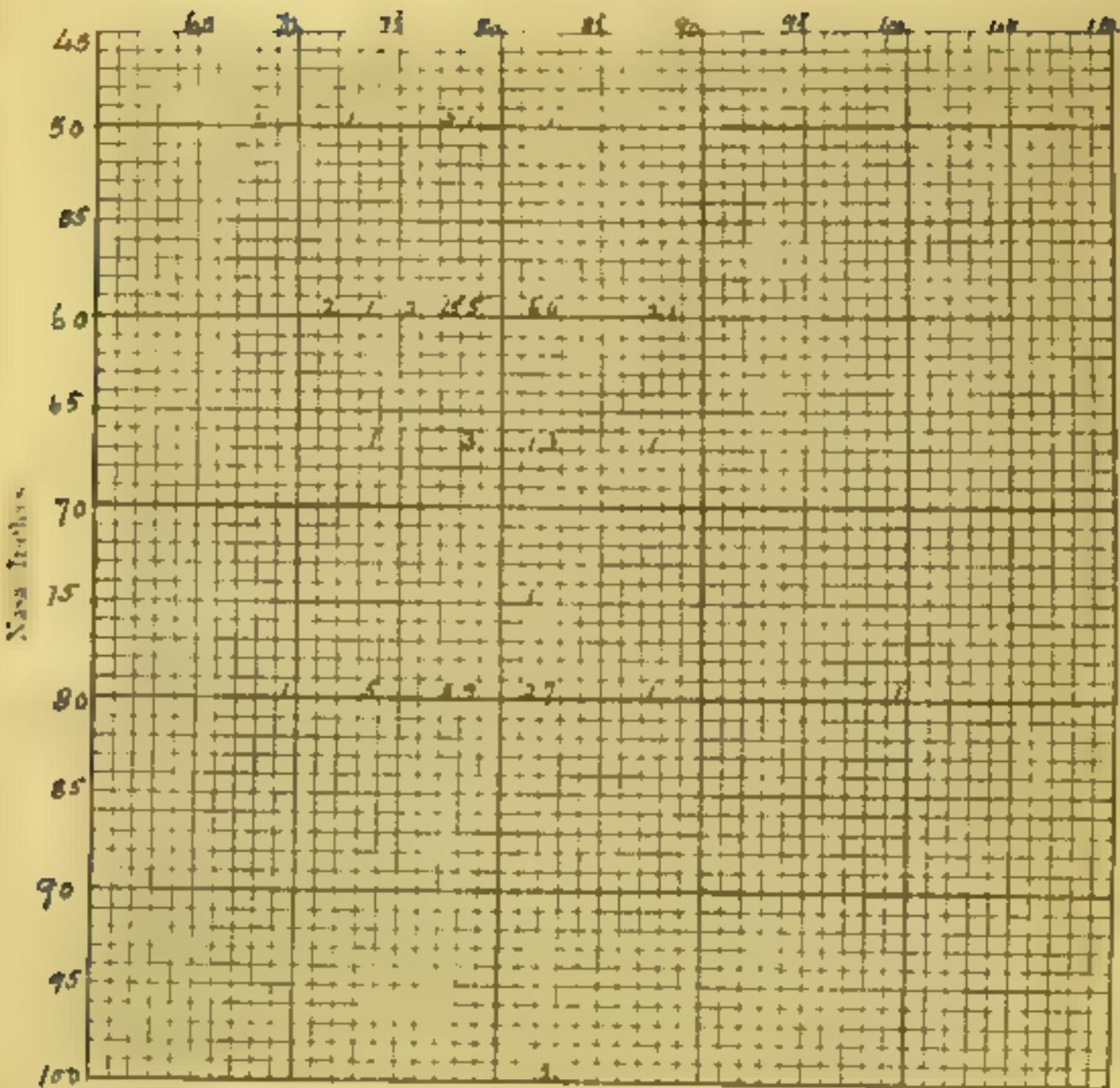
As regards the standard deviations of the cephalic and nasal indices it is to be seen that the nasal indices are more variable than the cephalic indices while the least amount of somatic variability is to be found in the case of bizygomatic breadth.

Finally, we have seen that the Assam groups on the average are of dolichoid-leptorrhine character and by referring to the analysis of the same by referring to the cephalic and nasal indices correlation table of ninety-four subjects it is to be seen that 5 subjects are of the dolichocephalic-leptorrhine combination type, 29 are of mesocephalic-leptorrhine type, 20 are of brachycephalic-leptorrhine type, 6 are of dolichocephalic-mesorrhine type, 14 are of mesocephalic-mesorrhine type, 32 are of brachycephalic-mesorrhine type, 2 are of brachycephalic-brachiocephalic type. Out of these 4 are of dolichoid-leptorrhine characteristics, 20 are of dolichocephalic-mesorrhine characteristics, 26 are of brachycephalic-leptorrhine characteristics, 12 are of brachycephalic-mesorrhine characteristics, 2 are of brachycephalic-brachiocephalic characteristics.

Thus in this list it is to be seen that the dolichoid-leptorrhine type is in majority, and next in number comes the brachycephalic-mesorrhine type while the brachycephalic-brachiocephalic type is conspicuously the fewness of its number.

Further, by referring to the stature and cephalic index correlation table, it is to be seen that there are following combinations 2 are dolichocephalic short, 5 are dolichocephalic medium, 4 are dolichocephalic tall, 1 is dolichocephalic very tall, 2 are mesocephalic pygmy, 14 are mesocephalic short, 23 are mesocephalic medium, 2 are mesocephalic tall, 3 are mesocephalic very tall, 11 are brachycephalic pygmy, 16 are brachycephalic medium, 3 are brachycephalic tall, 3 are brachycephalic very tall, 1 is hyperbrachy short, 4 are hyperbrachy medium, while hyperbrachy-tall and very tall are conspicuous by their absence. Again by taking dolichocephals and mesocephals together as dolichoids, and by taking brachycephals and hyperbrachycephals as general

Cephalic Indices



Cephalic and Nasal Indices Correlation Table (51 persons)

(See later p. 5)

[To face p. 9]

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brachycephalic broad-skulled variety, we see that there are 4 dolichognathes, 10 are sub-brachycephalic, 20 are dolichognathes, 6 are dolichognathes, 4 are dolichognathes tall, 10 are to the general brachycephalic standard, 10 are brachycephalic variety the brachycephaly is absent, 12 are broadly short, 12 are brachycephalic, 12 are brachycephalic very tall. Now, it is stated in *Proc. Roy. Anthro. Inst.* 1896, that the dolichognath variety is 50, while the brachycephalic variety is 40. This is of course of 97 subjects the dolichognath variety preponderates over the brachycephalic ones. As has been well known the skull proportions are to be observed in the tables of correction of cephalic and nasal indices.

Here, the analysis of the second characteristic of some of the natives of Assam mentioned in this paper is at an end. Here we do not meet with a homogeneous population. The somatic characteristics vary with the groups. In total, the traces of different racial elements are to be met with in the province of Assam. There are a few subjects with traces of "Mongolianoid" in the eyes, some have good physiques where in the body, while a good many subjects have prominent, thick cheekbones. It is a pity these somatic characters show, no line of descent, one can be drawn in the matter of caste and religion. Thus it is evident that there are common elements present in all the groups. Finally we have found out that there are different foot types existing in the province of which the dolicholeptotic type is in majority and then comes the brachycephalic leptotic type. Naturally the question arises from whence comes this heterogeneity?

In the hills of the province of Assam dwell many non-Assam speaking tribes who are supposed to be the East Asiatic aborigines*. In Herbert Isley's "People of India" the average cephalic indices of the Thibetans of Eastern Tibet, and the Khamts of Assam are given as 81.3 and 82.2 and the nasal indices are given as 82.2 and 8.7. These make them fit under the conical type of brachycephalic mesathtrophic group. As they cannot exist in this hill, it will not be a wonder to find it among the men of the plains living down below. But strangely the five Cossack subjects mentioned in this paper have the average cephalic index of 89.9, and nasal index of

* Dr. D. R. Dutt's paper "The Anthropology of Assam and Northern Burma," in "Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute," Vol. 18, p. 111, 1899.

+ H. Isley, "People of India," Appendix IV, pp. 100-101.

bottom, they are mesothines, and the bra-kephal-mesothine element is fairly represented in our Assam groups, yet the presence of this element less frequently per se among amongst our subjects may be accounted for by the fact that it is prevalent in the province though it is to be found in amongst the population of Northern India. As regards the presence of other elements in reference to the biometrical analysis of human skull of several caste Indians from the Punjab to Bihar, it can be read in "Anthropos,"^{*} where the writer of this article has shown that the dibrach-leptorhine element, though present in rest of the states of Northern India, is to be found in overwhelming majority in just the left side of the Punjab and the bra-kephal-leptorhine element is to be found in Gangetic Valley as well. It is also to be found in Bengal castes of being present in strong numbers in the Brahmin, Kayastha and Chaudhury castes. Again with the exception of the dot Naga all the states of Northern India have dibrach element present in overwhelming large numbers. Further, the records of the South Indian castes show that on the average this class of caste is predominant there. Thus one may opine that as far as the ethnical type is the prevalent type in India, he would not wonder if this element is to be found amongst the Hindus of Assam.

Thus we see that the various betwixt that exist in North India (India north of the Vindhya range) are also to be found in this North Eastern province. For the reason, it must be said that these people of Assam who probably are not isolated from the rest of India, yet that they have racial affinity with the people of Northern India. The only way to account that they have preserved so much of dolicho-leptorhine and bra-kephal-leptorhine elements which are accepted to be of West Asian origin in them, when one recalls the fact that some of them must have had of East Asian affinities as known by the presence of "Mongolian fold" in the eyes and prominent cheek bones as mentioned in the paper.

Finally we have seen that the groups are not widely divergent from each other. These castes have no racial basis. There are

*—See the classification system by Bhupendranath Datta in "Anthropos," Band XXII (1927), Vienna.

†—See R. Ray's "People of India," Appendix and also Thrusday

various castes native who have come to amongst them. This is further attested by the word *soot* for that with the exception of the Brahmins I have not heard any term in the contrary other caste intermarry amongst themselves or even the daughter of a man of higher caste to marry in marriage to a man of lower caste though the term is not allowed.

Ethnological Notes.

Many of the Hindu castes of Assam are identical with that of Bengal. In ancient times the northern portion of Bengal and the present district of Kamrup Assam formed one kingdom of Kamrup. The ancient traditions of Naraka Raja and Bhagadatta are the common tradition of both the provinces. The origin of both the provinces are very similar who came either and the script in the latter in both cases.

There are two sets of Brahmins—Kanyakubja and Vaishik. The former claim to have migrated from Kanyakubja (United Provinces) while the latter claim to have come from the south. The latter has got such many tales as Chakrabarti, a name common among the Bengal Brahmins. But these Brahmins do not claim any Bengali as patrilineal they had a priest at Kanyakubja temple claimed himself a Vaishik. told me that the other group of Bengal extraction is son of the Bengal Brahmins also from Kanyakubja descent. So the Brahmins with the family name of "Gowani" are their descent from Bengal.

The Kanyakubja also from Kanyakubja descent he can also be put forward by some of the Bengal Kayasthas. Some have family titles as "Das" "Jalha," in common with Bengal Kayasthas. In the case of subject No. 3, the names surname caste and *pani* are identical with good many Kayastha Dattas of Bengal. But they all yet very likely to have any connection with the same castes of Bengal.

Some of the cultivators call themselves Kayastha. They call themselves as "Chok Kayasthas" as otherwise with the subject N. 18.

The Karia are a cultivating caste. They are peculiar to Assam, though some of them have settled in some northern parts of Bengal. In good many cases they pass themselves off as Kayasthas, as in the case with the subject No. 18 who claims to be a Karia and a Kayastha (at the same time).

The **Bengalis** are the most numerous race in Assam. The province has taken its present name. They are said to have migrated from south eastern parts of Asia to the province. But at present they are completely Indianised and have got that general character of white horsemen 'Kirshiyaps'. The two others mentioned in the paper show East Asiatic traits in their skin complexion etc. One is so far having broad nose, high cheek bones, white hair, black eyes and other. The other having broad nose and high cheek bones. Further they have dark and coarse hair.

The Koch or **Khasia** are the next caste. It is said that the Koch and Mosh were originally the aborigine tribes who migrated to North Bengal long ago. They are Hindus but are regarded as 'Un-clean'. Hindu castes which is the case with Hindus cannot drink water. "Hydravasi" is the new epithet given by them. In North Bengal they are called however 'Khasiatives'. The Koch are still the only caste in Goalpara. The Khasia Khasians have migrated to Assam from Bengal and those people of both the provinces are members of the same community.

The **Mara** are a peasant caste. This caste exists in Bengal as well.

The **Hutsi** are a labour and a servant caste. This caste exists in Bengal and in the North Bengal valley as well.

The **Nartas** are really were a religious group followers of Goraksh Nath and Miranath. The temple of Gorakshnath the leader of this religious sect exists in the town of Gorkhpur. It is where the votaries of the same cult are to be found as well. I have found them to be existing as a caste in the province of Assam and Bengal.

The **Mary** are a caste one, usually given to gardening. This caste exists in Bengal as well.

The **Kacharis** are the dwellers of the hills of Garo. The subject in question in this paper being to the colony which has settled down in the plains of Assam. They have a language of their own and they do not call themselves Hindus though they claim to be the descendants of the Hindu hero known as the Molakshatru. They have an animistic sort of religion and they worship Manasa tree (*Euphorbia* or the *Euphorbia speciosa*) which they call 'Bauja tree'. I believe that is their totem. They eat anything except beef (perhaps that is



Paleolithic flakes from the Punjab.

(To face p. 16.)

due to their constant contact with the Hindus. They offer sacrifice and works to their god or gods though they claim to worship all the Hindu gods in their own ways, but they do not get the Brahmins for their priests. Yet they wear a tuft of hair in the occiput like all other orthodox Hindus. Many of them have prominent cheek bones, Mongolian folds¹ in their eyes, black and stiff hair, have no sign of beard and moustache on the face, and have the Mongolian cut of face. They are an endogamous group.

B. N. PATTI

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

• *Journal of the American Revolution* •

THE JOURNAL OF CLIMATE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

and the best part of the day is spent in the sun. The sun is very strong here, and it is difficult to get away from it. The heat is intense, and it is hard to find shade. The air is dry, and it is hard to breathe. The water is clear, and it is easy to swim. The food is delicious, and it is easy to eat. The people are friendly, and it is easy to make friends. The culture is rich, and it is easy to learn about it. The history is interesting, and it is easy to understand it. The architecture is unique, and it is easy to appreciate it. The music is美妙, and it is easy to listen to it. The art is beautiful, and it is easy to admire it. The landscape is stunning, and it is easy to appreciate it. The atmosphere is peaceful, and it is easy to relax in it. The overall experience is wonderful, and it is easy to recommend it.

B. N. PATTANAYAK

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

41	+	Black and yellow to yellow	14	16.0	14.4	41.39	52.9	36.74	61.6	17.6	173.9	Kunthrop	Great pictorial style.		
42	-	Black and yellow	12	16.6	11.3	75.04	53.2	31.4	80.0	13.3	166.3	B. right	high cheek bones, wide mouth		
43	-	Black and yellow	13	19.3	10.3	73.98	52.5	31.97	56.0	13.3	166.3	B. right	high cheek bones, wide mouth		
44	-	Black and yellow	8	Black and yellow	26	16.7	14.7	74.94	52.6	29.72	69.0	12.2	175.9	Parrot system	
45	-	Yellow black brown	11	16.7	11.7	74.11	52.1	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
46	-	Yellow black brown	1	16.7	11.3	74.94	52.4	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
47	-	Yellow black brown	1	16.7	11.3	74.94	52.4	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
48	-	Yellow black brown	17	16.7	11.3	74.94	52.4	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
49	-	Yellow black brown	17	16.7	11.3	74.94	52.4	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
50	-	Yellow black brown	22	16.7	11.3	74.94	52.4	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Parrot system			
51	-	Yellow black brown	4	Black red white	26	16.9	13.2	81.2	52.0	31.34	64.0	13.9	175.9	Amphibian style	

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

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4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45																																																							

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

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INDEXES TABLE

	M Average	S.E. M (Per cent error)	N Standard deviation	F.I.R. Factor of Standard Deviation	V (Variation coeff. cent.)	Rat V
I. Correlation of 40 persons	57.0	± 2.961	4.118	± 1.208	5.1475	± 23.57
II. Mean Index of 90 persons	67.95	± 2.009	11.04	± 0.430	10.24	± 81.67
III. Consistency of test - 5 persons	77.45	± 2.74	4.285	± 2.11	5.614	± 42.73
IV. Height Index of 36 persons	13.13	± 1.24	2.22	± 0.715	0.74	± 39.39
V. Stature of 90 per- sons	161.77	± 6.623	7.0	± 0.9	4.8	± 93.66

Errata

On p. 20 insert at the end of Indices table

Note: The correlations between (1) Capita and (2) Non-Farm (3) Capital Index and
Slavery give the following results

Correlation coefficient		Probable Error
(a)		(P. E.)
(1) 0.046	↑	PROB.
(2) 0.370	↑	0.01

The figures show that there is no significant correlation between (1) Capital and Slavery and there is positive correlation between (2) Capital Index and Slavery.

HINDU ANTHROPOLOGY

By

JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSH

Anthropology is one of the Modern progressive Sciences. Anthropometry and Ethnology are the two important branches of this Science. We shall here give some facts to show that the Hindus had their Anthropometry and Ethnology from a very early period.

(1) Anthropometry.

Hindus made elaborate measurements of the different parts of the human body for purposes of Ayurveda (Medical Science), Astrology, Painting, Iconography, Dancing and Sculpture. The earliest record of these measurements is found in the *Susruta-Samhitā*, one of the earliest medical works of the Hindus, now extant.¹ It lays down that an intelligent physician should know the exact measurements of the different limbs and members of the body for the better ascertainment of the duration of life of a patient before he takes up the case for treatment. The unit of measurement was the breadth of one's own middle finger (*angula*). As the cranium of a male at twenty-five and of a female at sixteen years of age attains full development their measurements have been taken as the standard. The *Samhitā* has altogether given 64 measurements, as shown in the statement attached. More measurements are found in later works. Men having these measurements were expected to live the longest. Those having shorter measurements were considered to live less.

Statement showing the measurements of the different parts of the human body in terms of one's own finger

1. Length of great toe (<i>padāngustha</i>)	.	2 angula.
2. Do. second toe (<i>pradehini</i>)	=	2 ..

¹ We are indebted to Dr. P. N. Banerji Mitra for bringing this to our notice, see *Science & Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, June 1925, pp. 23-5.

3.	Length of middle toe (<i>garuda</i>)	11	at guth
4.	Do. fourth do. (<i>simurha</i>)	11	
5.	Do. fifth do. (<i>kamala</i>)	11	
6.	Do. fore-sole (<i>prapada</i>)	11	
7.	Breadth do. do	5	
8.	Length of sole proper <i>prapada</i>	4	
9.	Breadth of do. d	5	
10.	Length of heel (<i>parpata</i>)	5	
11.	Breadth of do	4	
12.	Length of foot (<i>pido</i>)	... 14	ii
13.	Girth of do. (<i>pida-gulpha</i>)	... 14	ii
14.	Circumference of middle of thighs (<i>ganga</i>)	14	
15.	Do. to knee joint (<i>vara</i>)	11	
16.	Length of leg bet. ankle and knee joint	18	
17.	Do. to do. waist joint and do	12	
18.	Do. of entire leg	... 60	ii
19.	Do. of thigh + leg, th. bet. heel and knee joint		
20.	Do. of scrotum (<i>organa</i>)	... 2	ii
21.	Do. of chin (<i>eruka</i>)	... 2	ii
22.	Do. of exterior line of nostrils (<i>mukuta</i>)	2	ii
23.	Do. of tooth (<i>dantika</i>)	... 2	ii
24.	Do. of the roots of ear (<i>karmamula</i>)	... 2	ii
25.	Do. of space bet. eyes	... 2	ii
26.	Do. of non-rectified penis (<i>andhra</i>)	4	ii
27.	Do. of cavity of mouth (<i>edanamula</i>)	4	
28.	Do. of nose (<i>nasi</i>)	... 4	ii
29.	Do. of neck (<i>griva</i>)	... 4	ii
30.	Do. of ear (<i>karna</i>)	... 4	ii
31.	Do. of forehead (<i>halata</i>)	... 4	ii
32.	Do. of space bet. pupils (<i>dravyamula</i>)	4	
33.	Do. of vaginal anal (<i>chaga mukuta</i>)	12	ii
34.	Do. of space bet. penis and umbilicus (<i>badhu</i>)	12	ii
35.	Do. of space bet. chest and throat	12	ii
36.	Do. of space bet. tips of nipples (<i>stana</i>)	12	ii
37.	Do. of entire face (<i>mukha</i>)	... 12	ii
38.	Girth (<i>arhulya</i>) of wrist + main condyle	12	
39.	Do. do. of forearm (<i>prakartha</i>)	... 13	ii
40.	Do. round the knee joint (<i>andracasti</i>)	... 16	ii

41.	Length bet. wrist and elbow (<i>karpura</i>)	16 angula
42.	Length of arm (clad.) bet. elbow and tip of middle finger	... 24 ...
43.	Do. of the entire arm (<i>bhuja</i>)	... 31 ...
44.	Girth round thighs (<i>uru</i>)	... 32 ...
45.	Breadth of palm (<i>stava</i> of hand)	... 6 ...
46.	Length of space bet. bottom of base and of thumb (<i>anjana</i>) from tip to the root of the index finger	... 6 ...
47.	Do. root of nose to the arm of eye (�) (palpebra)	5 ...
48.	Length of middle finger	... 5 ...
49.	Do. of index do.	... 44 ...
50.	Do. of ring do.	... 44 ...
51.	Do. of thumb	... 34 ...
52.	Do. of little finger	... 34 ...
53.	Do. of forefinger (middle finger)	4 ...
54.	Girth round neck (<i>grend</i>)	... 20 ...
55.	Cavities of nostrils (nose-pottery) (anguli)	11 ...
56.	Region of toe (the width of the area of corner (nayana).	
57.	Do. of pupil (nirat) (width) of ... do.	
58.	Arch from hairy extremity (vaginula) of the temple to the middle of back of head	11 ...
59.	Space bet. middle of back of head to the terminal point of hair on neck	... 10 ...
60.	Girth of neck from back of ear to back of ear	14 ...
61.	Length of pelvic region of women (vagina) measured from below the anterior side of thigh joints	... 12 ...
62.	Breadth of chest (stava) of a male	12 ...
63.	Breadth of thigh (vagina) of women = waist of a male	
64.	Length of a male human body	120 ...

(*Susruta, Sutra-sabha, ch. 35*)

Let us now see how old is the *Susruta-Samhita*. The extant *Samhita* is said to be a recension or reversion of revisions by Nagārjuna. The scholars assign him to the second century A.D. but the original *Samhita* is much older than that. The *Vartika-karṇi*

Katyayana is later than Patanjali (c. 700-500 B.C.) and earlier than Patanjali (c. 200 B.C.). According to the *Kathasatrasastra*, Katyayana was the prime minister of Yudhishthira the King of the Nandis and earlier than the Maurya King Chandragupta (c. 305-232 B.C.). So Katyayana lived in the fourth century B.C. He says—*Sutratantra pratibha amarotam*, i.e., the work *Sutra* was said by Susruta.¹ This shows that the work was well known in the time of Katyayana, i.e., in the fourth century B.C. So it can be assigned to the fifth or sixth century B.C. Susruta after giving the measurements just as an authoritative passage, to support of his statement, well proves that these measurements used to be taken long before the sixth century B.C.

In connection with the construction of sacrificial altars—the *Atharva-Veda* prescribes the number of bones in a human body. That goes to prove that the knowledge of anatomy was no very well-known in the time of the *Atharva-Veda* (c. 1000 B.C.) that it found mention in the Brahmanic literature. The bones form the internal structure of the body, while the measurements relate to the surface of the body. We would not be wrong to presume that the study of the surface preceded the study of the internal structure. From all these, we conclude that the anatomical system of the Hindus was much earlier than the ninth century B.C., the latest date for the *Atharva-Veda*.

Proportionate measurements are given in the *Vaidika-sastra*, the *Itihasa-Sastra*, the *Sastras* from the *astridharm* and the *Tantras*, in connection with Astrology, Sculpture, Painting and Dancing. Dr. Sita Krausch has given these measurements in a tabular form in her translation of the *Panchatantra* Part III, pp. 19-24.

(2) Ethnology.

The ancient Hindus were not without their notion of Ethnology. The first expression of it is found in the *Rigveda*, where two *Bharat-*

¹ Thus we write on the authority of K. L. Bhagatna the translator of the *Susruta-Samhita* although we have not been able to trace it ourselves. When we find that the *Susruta* is a treatise on surgery and that Susruta the Court physician of the King Dhritrashtra and a contemporary of D. (3rd & 2nd century B.C.), was well versed in surgical operations there is no other less possibility than a treatise like the *Susruta* existed at that time. In fact it should be looked upon as a repository of knowledge on the subject from the Vedic age.

features are spoken of. By these two *Varna* are meant, the light-coloured *Yugas* themselves, and the dark-skinned *Vasisht* or the *Dasyus* their creatures. This distinction of the Aryans and the non-Aryans has been classed under *Varna*, because *Varna* of colour first arrests one's eyes. From this, we are not to understand that they failed to notice the other distinguishing features. In the Vedic literature the *Dasyus* have been said not only to be swarthy but also impudent, of short stature, coarse featured, untidy and of low speech. It is shown that they did not fail to observe all the three elementary principles of Anthropology, i.e., the physical characteristics, culture and language. The names such as Yavas, Hukku, Gaudhary, Kuntiata, etc. also speak of their anthropology as derived.

With the social development there was division of labour. The difference of profession brought about difference in colours. The priestly class or the Brahmins retained their original light colour. The fighting class or the Kshatriyas for propounding cause of blood became red. The cultivating class or the Vaishyas by their work in the sun became yellow. So among the *Yugas* themselves there sprung up three *Varnas* which ultimately came to reign alone.

At times went on people of various other colours than the four principal colour of white, red, yellow and dark, some and different other professions sprung up. These were called *Sudras* or *Banka* or mixed colours. These intermediate colours gave rise to different castes. They probably had nothing to do with the intermixtures of castes to which their origin is attributed. For example, when it is said that a child is born of a Brahmin mother and a Sudra father, it probably only meant that the colour and other characteristics of a child was a mixture of a Brahmin (white) and a Sudra (black) more akin to the latter.

Further developments of these ethnological divisions are found in the *Brahmanas*, where we notice that the anthropometrical measurements have been used for the purpose. In Chapter 68 named *Purushashaster*, Varahamihira, for purposes of Astrology divides mankind according to various measurement (in no case height, gait (gati), constrictor fit of body joints, fat substance of the body consisting of fat, marrow, skin, bone, semen, blood and flesh), *Varna* (colour), *srotas* (condition of speech, tongue, teeth, eyes and nose), *svara* (voice), *prakrti* and *rata* (character), *antaka* (configuration of

the face, lower shield) dealing with the *length* of navel cord, nose, character, breast (with forefoot), mouth, best whisker, armpit, mala, nose, face, back of the neck, penis, back, neck, thigh, eye, corner foot, palto of hand, palate, lips, tongue, teeth, phalanges, hair, skin, chin, eyes, arm and the space between the breast and navel, which deals with the *width* of neck, skin, nose, hair of the body and hair.

Ushnash and mala. Vaidavacharya says that an adult male at the age of 25 and an adult female at 20 or when they have attained to the fourth part of their average longevity are entitled to *mala* (wreath) and *ushnash* (treatments). According to the *Sushruti-Samita*, we have seen above, the measurements of females at sixteen should be taken.

Again under head *ushnash*, work 4 has been divided into three classes, i.e., *utkankha* (metacarpus), shoulder and *uttama* (wrist), according as they are 1½ "6 and 8½ "12 in terms of their own fingers. These measurements, no doubt, refer to their height or *upayoga* i.e., the length of extent of arm span.

At the end of the chapter, the author says that he compiled it by consulting the views of the same *atma* and by abridgment. Kesh says that Vaidavacharya leaves borrowed from Garga. He quotes Garga after him in his *Brahm-Samita*. Garga himself has a separate chapter called *Niravakya*. So Garga was probably one of the sages consulted. Kesh quotes Garga-Samita approximately to 30 B.C. (Kern's *Introd. to the Brah.-Samita*, pp. 32, 33 and 40).

In Chapter 63 on *Painava-Matayatasadana*, Vaidavacharya divides the *Matayatas* in the embryo into five classes according to their *ugra* and. These are - *Hamsa* 96 *dhina* days, 99 *ugra*, *Raudra*, 108 *dhina* longer 101 *ugra*, and *Mangala*, 108 *ugra*, in measure of four own fingers. The height is equal to *Vyaganya*. The kings belonging to these categories. Their subordinates are called *Sankirtanaprasas*. They are respectively, *Kripa*, *Shuci*, *Mamajaka*, *Vamanaka* and *Jaghanya*.

Many more particulars of the *Matayatas* are given in the *Koshtikartmattira*. It not only gives the measurements of the

Upanisad,¹ but those of the different parts of body, with descriptions of their colour, taste, etc. It also divides their temperament into five types and gives their distinguishing features. The work furnishes many interesting details of the different districts of India, as well as of Cundinamus, Kanyakumari, Valavu, etc.

The very interesting fact we may note, in this connection, is that two of these five types names stand the names of two tribes of ancient India. They are Black and Mala. Malav and Mala were also the names of countries. There is also a type of temple in Orissa. Madaya and Andhra are the others.

We have seen above that the Hindu anthropometric measurements are not later than the Atharva-veda. The several systems, namely Ayurveda, Astrology, Horoscopy, Saptarishi, Painting and Dining, which adopted these measurements do not seem to be later than that date.

Although we are fully conscious of our incompetency to deal with this subject, our object in writing this paper is to draw the attention of the Anthropologists. We may further certify if some of them will make use of the system, as it is here and then an earnest worker, to write a treatise on the subject.

1. These are somewhat different from those in the *Vedic Upanisads*. They are Black, Brown, Red, Yellow, White, Green, Blue and Silver, all eight. According to the *Susruta-Samhita* the higher birth of a man is the Silver. Of course these types are also found in the *Ayurveda*, *Horoscopy* and *Dining*.

SOME PRIMITIVE TOTEM CONCEPTS AS GUARDIAN ANGELS WITH SPECIAL RE- FERENCE TO THE BEAR AS A GUARDIAN SPIRIT

(An analytic study of the primitive attitude towards totem-guardian angels before it has been transformed by modes of thought.)

BY

S. SIEKAR

Whatever be the beginnings of evil according to the Impacter theory or the modern pluralist hypothesis of Chamberlin and Merton and whatever be its age in successive element in 'half-powd computation' and its succession in geological epochs there is no denying that after a long, long process period it stepped into a life-bearing condition - a phenomenon new before a wider experience in her life career not so long dreamt of in the offspring of a successful career in the high energy of the rotatory circuits of a longing traverse. It is then that the plants developed and till later the marvels of animal life.

The first dawn of human life, in many senses the greatest miracle of the terrestrial career broke amidst widely distributed luxuriantly grown plant life and lovely, poised and a healthy sweet singing noisy world of animal life. The awe-struck wonder-absorbed human life awoke with its biological urge but in a state of mental bewilderment as to how best it can get on the same footing with them. The peculiar hopelessness of human life in solving the food problem and the free natural, easy growth and development of plants and animals stood out with a strange contrast. Here were the plants and trees growing and developing with a luxuriant foliage neglecting

the vicissitudes of all weathers and persistently spreading forth in the midst of obstacles—did few animals range free and know exactly what fruits were sweet and ripe—tellt, where the honey was to be had and how it was to be gathered without the sting being in the least effective or what clean water was to be had without the labor of being possessed in how to convert the same for one's daily food—were they not the most abject of us—a lamentation of man in his wretched existent search of food and shelter?

The man (and hence of course) at first to plants and animals in satisfying his biological needs sought shelter and shield or weathering the vicissitudes of seasons through the protection of—So he chose to accept them merely as superstition and tried to get all his wants met and satisfied through them—the more of them rated to fulfill and lead men to believe that when plants are so well fed and grow so luxuriantly they will also get the power of retaining their longer and green flesh and healthy & they could eat the flesh and blood of the animals. It was the nature of the belief of the primitive mind and they looked at the facts in their most coarse aspect. The story of the goose laying golden eggs in Aesop's Fables represent the characteristic attitude of man in his primitive mentality—similar to the above old types the owner tried the means of getting all the eggs at once by rippling the goose's pot. Thus thus also might have been in the pastoral beginning of the elaborate rituals of the eating of the gods.

Similarly the superstitious supernatural power ascribed to animals can be seen in many cases. "The belief that animals know things that we know not and see things that we see not is scattered all over the earth. When the primitive men saw countless instances of birds forewarning of the approach of storms—when saved from the approach of flood by timely escape whereas men who clung to them there grew the natural conviction that an omik had foreknowledge. The prophetic power of animals has an important bearing on the subject of invocation. Animals were the passive instruments or medium of superior power which was believed to be commutable to man through their flesh and specially through their blood. So it was naturally thought that the animals were the possessors of all human traits with the addition of some other particular traits in each special

case. That anyone so closely linked with them as was was the generator of the customs of race.¹⁴

It is of interest to compare now where the case came out of the anthropological view as Morgan supposed and Moller has tried to reiterate, for it is being a gross misconception even the so-called primitive border of land and not the assisted family, is the real point for us to start with. The society as the ancient people did not consist of several families and their dependents and so that would bring up of course the family. Then we find the氏族 which is said to have grown in the midst of bands, but individual tribal and clan boundaries to a band which might have grown into cities by gradual lessening and for protection of material possessions of the group as the primitive extension of one tribal interest in all who belong to the lot. A consideration of these problems makes us see and whether we make much of relatedness groups among kinship leaders directly then leading to the association type of existing humanity the elemental units were possibly the bands or local groups integrated into tribes. Then there were various and different places of the earth, ranged scattered or divergent tribes.

It was long while that in the United States the Western world confounded with the word Totem which was the name given for the supposed protector that was claimed by every numberless primitive object or being amongst the tribes of the Great Lakes in America. We get in a very useful summary of the present viewpoint about the United States. "It is not unusual, it is extremely rare to go its extent, and that those are regional distinctions as in North America the guardian spirit seems to be the totem of the local idea, in Africa the emphasis is upon the cult of ancestor spirits etc., and in Australia the ancestor cults are the most popular. There where there may be found no separate problems in totemism, the majority opinion seems to be that totemism as an association of varieties with the recognition of a spiritual totemic group, is a reality."¹⁵

Now in the primitive culture the elements of totemism range of hunger and thirst and so many problems must have been dangers for himself his family and the tribe when in the field or tribe, compelled each of them to seek to increase power. Their practical everyday experience is seeing the superiority of the animals and plants

in the solution of such problems as we have seen led them to pay homage to plant and animal life as protectors and life-giver and sustainer. This was a symbol of representation developed into Totem. Each band or family group in a tribe claims to owe its allegiance to some totem, or other. The collective function of each totem is the subject matter of Totemism. The totem of each group becomes the repository of the power that gives or has given in the past such protection against the simple but most turbulent wants of life. The simple belief in the totem maintained and helped their life problem. But afterwards man individualized more protection in beliefs in some different object either animate or inanimate other than his group-totem. This is the individual totem. The intermediary of those two forms is the sex-totem. The fulfillment of several urge of its gratification is a necessary requisite in the course of existence of life.

If we review some of the earlier viewpoints of totemism we might pass through the encyclopedic work of Frazer³ and find out how McLennan, Lubbock and Evans saw that Totemism had influenced the manners and customs of India⁴ or how 'it lay at the root of Santa Religion' or 'was a code scheme of society and religion which were the result of which not only all religious but all material progress has been evolved'. Frazer himself disposed to start with the Australians as an example of the most primitive culture as Wood built his system on the assumption of the Vedas being the most primitive or as Lamego emphasizes the case of the Andamanese or the Terra del Fuegan in which he is fortunate to be in the same position as the great Durkheim quotes the tradition of these tribes who suppose that in certain far off time to which they give the name of Aicentias, their ancestors roamed about in bands, each band consisting of members of the same totem group.

The real sense and the underlying belief of the fundamental notion of Totemism was attempted to be explained by Huxley. Frazer's definition of Totemism tends to show the subsequent developments of animism, natureism, shamanism and religion. According to Frazer Totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate an altogether special relation.⁵

Darkbeam's belief of totemism being more primitive than animism and materialism, or, at least, the Tylorian attitude which takes totemism to a mere form of ancestor-worship, is based on a far deeper analysis of the fundamentals. Darkbeam has elaborately explained by a searching analysis why totemism is not a mere system of taboo or, yet a phase or a part of animism or of ancestral cult and ancestral worship. His is of opinion that religion develops from it.

The present-day attitude in religious belief and primitive belief is the same so far as the function is concerned. What religion does for the masses to lay the totem of the primitive world did for the savages and served humanity as well. The underlying spirit in the belief of any form of telegram or emblem is the same as in the case of the totemic emblem. The cross or charan, the mosque or temple, of today is exactly the same institution as the totem symbol and marks out the prohibitory areas with regard to each totem.

The gradual steps leading from totem to religion may be this. In every primitive band some individual gets the oppermost position. He becomes the director of the band. The totem has a direct communion with him. He directs the band and selects in many cases what would be the totem of any individual. The dead are whole possessed thus be rest toward the individual. Afterwards he becomes the shaman. From shamanism the totemic concept underlying it originates religious belief, as in totemism some conception of impulsive universal force is invoked, i.e., totemism itself is a religion. The primitive mind rests satisfied with it. Totemism is the impersonal of such and such animals or men or images, but an impersonal and impersonal force found in each of these beings but not to be confounded with any of them.¹

The behaviour of primitive men towards their totem animal or the whole class of animals of the particular totem guardian spirit has a remarkable bearing on the acceptance of the spiritualism by the people.

"The bear is treated as an honored guest who must not be offended."²

Among Siberian tribes bear-festival is performed throughout the country.

"It is the common duty of clowns to feed the bear, and to take

part my bear cub or were the our other tame or wild sow killed? This bear cub has bitten a relative and caused his death."

"The Jokha is very much afraid of bears. Yet he is the first to admit that the bear is a just and stern master of the forest. Once a gentle man - A woman - was on a walk and saw a bear and he gave him a partridge to eat. He never forgot the trifling service and sought for news of the bear who ever since - A number of men and the wife of the man were awarded to reward him. He quickly reached the cellar, but there in winter time they were seen a well-fed bear with they inform their master. By chance too the tiger was saved, he plunged into the sea. Next morning a bear was seen and they were going to hunt him when the sun rose red colour in what had happened. Dashed the banners to go home. In fact at that time "This is eight years" their own bear." They had the means to prepare a feast for him, and when he had refreshed himself they lay down to sleep and the children played around him. Presently the woman got up a little early, after which he went down to the sea, caught him and was never seen again."

In one of all the last few levelled against Pythian dreams driving away by the author of *Upanishads* and remembering the words he quoted of how not the attempt of rebuking the dreamer resulted in his *Pratibhasa*. I suggest it be worth while examining the value of dreams in analysis of primitive life. When we find the rats running while asleep it seems that they are hunting perhaps at night time and we may conjecture at the outset that the state of dreams is within the primitive states of experience of primitive man if not of animals also. In an experimental psychology class in Yale which was one of the authors attended there was a class on dream psychology which will be stated his dream experiences, and apart from trying to illustrate the dreams as suppressed desires as Freud would have (which was not a better conclusion in the case) there was an attempt at analysis as to how far dreams were correlated with psychopathological conditions, how far they could be induced, how much they reflected the individual mind and how far some expected conditions in effect penetrating the semi-dreamy consciousness of an individual reconstituted or diminished the external accompanying events. In India the belief of experiences of the individual in the subconscious as carried over from his previous birth is still to be used either accepted or part of the dream experiences of at least some even who claim to have

transcended the limitations of natural sense-knowledge by practices of concentration of mind. One of the modern Anthropologists of Bengal Mr K. C. Sastri Sevayee thus speaks about dreams:

Dreams and thoughts are not bereft of all significance. One can understand the state of one's mind from the objects visualised in his dreams. The things which have the greatest part on one's mind in his innermost core float in a vague range. The five classes of the future are laid deep in the present. If these ideas are to operate on us directly or consciousness, we could be seen for the events in our dreams. The thoughts of the day are also visible during the night as dreams. If the sleep is not deep, if at that time any condition of the external world is brought back to the mind in a slight manner we feel that deeply. While falling into a semi-sleep condition even a pillow lying on the body is felt as a heavy load. As in the waking state various thoughts arise in the mind. In a state of sleep also various thoughts may slip through the mind and be visible as dreams. There is a mutual relationship in our ideas. As there is a mutual likeness between a class of ideas they naturally attract each other. Our association of ideas may also be of various types. To man the ideas of his previous births are also laid deep in the dominant store. If the ideas of the present life in any measure the same as the ideas of past life it begins to attract the thoughts of past life. If such a condition happens in a state of dream the conditions of past life are also visible in a state of dream. We may understand and are accustomed to understand many truths with the help of examples or analogies. Thus from many events seen as existing we may come to understand the things which they stand for. It is very hard to enumerate and exhaust all the causes and ways of dreams.

We have seen that primitive man on account of his helplessness tends to envy the free life of plants and animals and to wonder at their simple solution of life problems which they think are due to superior powers and foreknowledge of natural phenomena and he comes to think of them as possessed of secret powers of spirit like man, and gradually there is development of mediimistic powers in some who seem to be the spokesmen of these supposedly superior Type Animal or Type Plants and the ascribing of ancestorship becomes prominent in ideas where theickerings days of superior ancestors are predominant concepts or they become guardian spirits where the struggle for

existence has made men more dependent on his animal fellows and where these are in the background, a mere carrying on of older ideas is just maintained in the system of taboos. Now in an area where the Eskimo lives in company with his gentlemanly bear associates who are the only dominating living phenomena of the area, it is but quite natural for him after such an experience of warm friendly greetings from a bear as narrated before that falling down to sleep he will dream that a great bear is his guardian genius and is saving him from all other animals outside and is guarding him from other animals that have come to attack him. Now as soon as he comes out of his enclosure he dreams that the bear hugs him fondly and lies down and begins to sleep in great contentment and he could feel that he was the lap of his guardian genius who might have been his ancestor as well as his totem.

We can now go back to Frazer who in his *Belief in Immortality* (Vol. I, pp. 139-40) points out how the savage has faith in the truth of dreams and his faith in 'the reality of dreams has been one of the principal sources of the widespread almost universal belief in the survival of the human soul after death. It explains why ghosts are supposed to appear rather by night than by day, since it is chiefly by night that men sleep and dream dreams. Perhaps it may also account for the association of the stars with the souls of the dead. But if the dead appear to the living mainly in the hours of darkness, it seems not unnatural to imagine that the bright points of light which then bespangle the canopy of heaven are either the souls of the departed or fires kindled by them in their home-left.' Thus the stars come to be associated with the souls of the dead. As the totem is looked upon as the father angel spirit so it is immortal and lies in a better world in heaven. Thus in time the polar bear comes to correspond with the polar star in the sky. Is it not strange then to find in Hindu Mythology, that the Lure of the dead is given as in Bhavatika, the region of the polar star—development of the same lines of thought as of polar inhabitants like the Eskimos coming gradually to identify the polar star with the bear totem. Thus we perpetuate perhaps the original totemic idea in the name of the stars of the Great Bear. In Hindu mythology they are the stars of the seven great ancestral ages to whom offerings are made on the occasion of the annual water sacrifice or offerings to the ancestors. In Sanskrit they are named

Sapti (seven) *Rishi* (sages) and one wonders whether this has not been a version of Sapti (seven) *Rit* (the gods). Similarly one likes to get at the connecting links of the idea which makes a bear friend of the epic hero Rama along with monkeys in his march to the south to fight against Ravana. What then is the lost history to be traced behind the bear totem people and their possible migrations from a northern home where alone the bear should have such important functions as a helpmate of man?

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JURISTIC ETHNOLOGY OF THE MEITEIS AND THE NAGAS

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Manipur Sans Liq—the golden land of the Meiteis—a gorgeous valley lying between lat. 25° 50' and 27° 3' north and long. 93° 19' and 94° 30' east is full of undulations and hills forming a marked contrast along with its civilised, organised state, with the surrounding mountain heights teeming with wild tribes who were head-hunters not very long ago. The hills around it practically shut it entirely out of the rest of India and probably this feature as a blessing in disguise has helped to a great extent to preserve some of the peculiar customs and traditions intact even to this very day. The fertility of the soil, the evergreen country with luxuriant vegetation, rivers, and magnificent lakes have made life extremely easy. In an area like this it is all the more interesting to find a halfway house between the Vedic system and the primitive system of Hindu government and judicial machinery. It is perhaps in the days of strong cultural and political organisation in ancient India, that Manipur could keep regular contact with that higher civilisation along 104 miles of dangerous road not very long ago maintained from the encroachments of nature and the inroads of the hunting tribes.

In the country of Manipur itself the people of the valley and those of the hills present many anomalies and divergences. These in relation to each other and in relation to the systems

of India as a whole present again many difficulties in the way of analysing in terms of economic and political factors, with necessary exactitude. Further, in such an attempt not only does the size and diversity of India (together with its literature) problem a very survey of the whole, but its environments, which have been particularly adapted to the diffusion of culture traits, come in as an important factor in the correlation as well as classification. Again among the inhabitants of Manipur we find contradictions in cultural details which are advanced economically and socially at the same time, exhibiting certain features which we have to call backward in relation to their economic and social status.

In this paper no detailed study of the social and judicial life in correlation with economic environment has been made but an attempt has been made to put together certain facts which do not seem to have been well dealt with by previous writers. Wherever new suggestions have been put or old theories questioned the author's authorities generally are writers imbued with the evolutionary standpoint. The people dealt with have scarcely any trace of written codes. Custom and tradition controls the life of the different components of the community. The Meithei have of course a definite organised machinery for the administration of law. Prof. Hodson in his monograph "The Meiteis" has given a fairly good description of the judicial and administrative machinery of the Meiteis, but the importance of his work chiefly lies in the fact that a close relation with the Nagas and Kukis systems has been assumed everywhere. But a closer analysis of these shows no doubt a territorial principle as a governing factor among the Meiteis whereas among the Nagas and Kukis it is the kinship principle.

In the economic classification the Meiteis may be placed in the highest grade of agriculturists, who obtain crops from seeds sown broadcast on a large scale. The use of the plough with cattle harnessed to it gives them fairly harvest each year. Crops are

grown by rotation. The study of annual calendar shows the march of seasons and the work imposed in the domain of food pursuits among the people.

Time has elapsed since the clans have divided into family groups called *Yan-nals*, some of which indicate the occupations which they might have had in the days of yore. The Meitei who leads the stratum of chiefs is associated with herd of cattle and we find the nambor or priest-doctor as an influential personality until a very recent time. The powers exercised by them on magical and religious line and the punishment by ostracism prevalent among them reveals us of some connection with the tribes of Borneo, Micronesia and Polynesian islands.

The chronicles show how the Meiteis have united the small states into a big state and how the upper and lower strata of society formed in the meanwhile, give rise to the great politico-economic system of the Laloope. Here a large number of non-producing persons—the *jais* or the head of the families or clans—tend to serve the rulers as their bodyguards. A graded organisation and office-lens arose to manage this Laloope which also provided the military and labourer class. With the growth of aristocracy the labour for tilling fields began to be commercialised, as this is to a great extent now-a-days. The disfranchised peoples, such as the Lobs, were thrown in a lower rank and had to pay taxes to the state, while the others were exempted in consideration of the Laloope.

Although a considerable reorganisation has taken place since the days of Mukemaja Gourinder Singh owing to the introduction of a standing army as well as owing to the influence of Hinduism and to their connection with the British since the middle of the 19th century which has completely altered the older ideas of landownership, their culture is intact in its main features and may be taken as a representative example of the old Meitei civilization. Principles like the reservation of king's lands, etc., and the constant supervision of the agricultural works

by the institution of "Karanthou" through its functionaries speak of the long forgotten trend through which the conception of ownership and article property might have passed.

The present Meitei system of government is monarchical. There is also a regular form of public justice exercised by the representatives of the king, trying cases of tried or sacred offences such as breaches of tribal law, marriage rules and ceremonial ethics. The three courts of Chemp, Panchan and State Durbar administer the unwritten law with a system of regular trials in which oaths and ordeals are used and award punishments. The government further is characterised by the remarkable manner in which an older clan organization has been subordinated to the king in whom hence all powers have been centralised. He regulates all marriage laws and decides amanat cases arising out of matrimony and irregularities created by a council of Brahmins. He claims their religious authority. The king names generally a Meitei who is the Army sub-chief.

There are several classes of names which since the introduction of Hinduism have grafted on to each of them a Brahminic Robe name. Some of them are also connected with flowers or names which their preceding deity has preferred. These thus have in each of them Yanimba (bear names) or family name which despite of the introduction of the *yatis* is still the operative factor which regulates marriage inter-caste. All names are however exogenous except some Yamakis among them and descent is reckoned on the father's side. Each individual has two names, a birth name or Christian name and a second or secret name which he takes upon him together with food taboos on the initiation ceremony which entitles him to become a full-fledged member of the Meitei society.

The smallest social unit of the state is an extended family, while for judicial purposes the unit is the village and the society in the village is founded on common fealty—men obeying the laws of the country formulated by the king in council and each village forms not only a convenient living place of the people

but also an organic part of the whole social structure. The social unit here of course is not to be confused with villages where communities are grouped together generally, owning land in common and dealing as units, as individual property in the ordinary legal sense. So the Mesters may be said strictly to possess a village organisation and having no village community and on this point also they differ from the neighbouring tribes of Nagas and Kukis.

We are aware of only one sort of association into which a village was divided namely the *sangha*. These *sanghas*, on the one hand, performed the village labour or co-operative labour and formed a very important organ in the organisation of the *laloop* as has been indicated elsewhere¹ and, on the other, dealt also with state politics. It was linked with the central organisation through 3 others namely the Gopalnagelopa, Gopalbhugaba and Gopalshidang. The other association—the *Kerop*—has been of serious trouble for its being so long under foot as the tiger cub². The *Chomber* gives the names of four *Kerops* into which the valley was divided under the hegemony of the Kerrakpa. Ker has always been associated with agriculture and also differs in tone with the same word meaning tiger, while we have the *Keriothou* and the *Ker* slaves to look after royal food-stuff.

Before passing to the social and political organisation of the Mesters one further feature of their economic life must be noted, which is comparable to that of a large area in Africa. This feature is the scale in which certain kinds of works are carried on. The building of houses in the palace enclosure and of the many principal and subsidiary enclosures surrounding the capital, groups of houses within, involved the co-operation of hundreds of workers who perhaps used to furnish also the building materials and whose task required continuous application of labour for weeks and months at a time. Further the making of

¹ *Calcutta Review*, Sept. 1894.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371, Sept. 1894.

roads which connected the different towns and districts in Manipur with the capital and other principal towns was even a more laborious undertaking involving still larger number of working-men who were furnished by local communities. These aspects of industrial enterprise may well be compared to that among the Indians and the peoples of primitive America, Australia and Siberia.

Not very long ago and contemporaneous to the British advent, the country was divided into four Pannas. Hodson speaks of six Pannas¹ as well as the records of Manipur credit King Loryumba with the establishment of six Pannas. King Khagembra reorganized them on the basis of four, namely — Abalup meaning the society of elders, Nalrapur the society of younger, Khamam and Leopan. The Khamam Panna is associated with Khabur-gumba-dan. Each of these provinces were placed under the rule of a governor who used to live at the capital like the Peruvians, for at least a part of the year. The distinct bodies of *attadeep* and *kerry* are described as the body under the Pba or head. In almost every village there existed regular tribunals whose jurisdiction extended over petty offences. The village co-operated as a whole in religious or social and economic matters, the leadership for these purposes rested in special families and individuals. Is it not possible to compare the curious association of socio-economic and political organisation notably the evidence of rich and influential families or leaders with rice culture with the same sort of institutions of the Malayans?

Another most striking feature of the socio-political economic

* The Laloop *

organisation of the Meiteis was the unique principle of the system of "Laloop"—free and

¹ The 6th and 7th Pannas used to be referred as territorial divisions. They are by the division of the inferior group, the Phongsos, as contrasted with the superior group, the Meiteis. The management of the Phongsos was by the Phongchou Lebing and other governmental offices for controlling labour for the royal household. Thus Poisenjan—the 6th associated Panna, looked after the royal marts, customs and served thread with 2000 Phantphous who in charge of royal Hukka tobacco, power and molasses. They were not of course slaves.

compulsory labour due to the state in lieu of the taxes. Every adult male member who could cultivate a "puri" (a measure of land), of land had to serve the king ten days out of forty with the proper work of the grade to which he belonged. The *pibas* or the heads of the families were bound to enlist the proper men in the "Khauchin," the executive machinery of the "Laloop." The social structure of the village was divided into divisions for the maintenance of the "Laloop." The first group comprised of the *pibas* or the heads of the families and the tribe. They were immune from the dangerous part of labour. They left the family group and attended on the king. The second group formed the most important section of the "Laloop," having the responsibility of all the works of the Laloop of that group and as such they had to perform all the heavy duties in and for the "Loren" or village. The third group consisted of the "Balmees" or the militia. The fourth was called "Sangaylon" or the workers on roads and bridges who worked in unison with the second group.

To give this economical system of Manipur a degree of completeness we have to deal with the Meitras as forming into two divisions with regard to labour. The first one was called the Meitra, the superior class, and the other the Phoongna, the inferior class. The Phoongna was divided by Hodson into "Hoklak phaingba" and "Potsangba."¹ An account² of 1891 includes "Tenkhul," "Kei" and "Avokpa" in the same group. The "Tenkhul" was associated with horticulture while the last used to "provide and pound rice for the Royal household." The Avokpas, probably captives of war, were included in the category of slaves for large services to the state in all its works, administrative as well as private. "Both the Phoongna and Tenkhul," says Hodson, "were originally slaves of the Raji. The local traditions no doubt class them under a group

¹ Hodson, "The Meitras," p. 14.

² Quotations by Dr. Daren.

³ *Ibid.*

inferior to the Meitras probably because of their mixed origin— from the Meitras and Luhmous.

For a thorough management of the *tatrap*, the economic-military institution, Meitras were divided in four "Panjas" or geographical units namely "Aizawl," "Naharup," "Khamtam" and "Lapham," the "Phoengnats" was divided into Potsangbam and Hidak phanbam. Each of these Panjas had an elaborate list of others who were also entitled to sit as a judicial body of the state. Further each of these Panjas had two separate departments one for the service of the king called Sanglon and another for the service of the queen called Sangguba. The Phoengnats in the King's service were named "Lemnans."

Each Panja had villages under it and these villages returned officers who occupied some of the official seats in the Panja. These were never chosen or elected but formed out of the heads of the families who by virtue of their being so, held the sceptres of their groups.

In the partly theocratic organisation of the state there is a remarkable parallelism with the Peruvian system which is much more strong however when we consider the older form of state socialism.

^{Such was the}
^{state organisation}
^{of Peru}

In Manipur which has now entirely disappeared. We may compare the organised principle of labour with that of Peru which also was based ultimately on agriculture and where, as in the Meitei state, no man was exempt from agricultural labour or from military service except by special privilege. Both in Peru and Manipur weaving and spinning were almost universal though the selected groups of artisans for mining and metallurgy and stonework were very rare. In Manipur there is a definite set of artisans near Wangu who are, from time immemorial, raising the salt from the wells and drying them in pans in ways reminiscent of the Pacific regions of Polynesia. In Peru agricultural land was divided into church lands, common lands, and royal lands, providing the maintenance of the royal household which probably previously furnished the bulk of royal income and



thus the state revenue—the common lands in Manipur corresponded to the clan lands which were owned by the Sires. Each clan had a "Piba" for whom distinct portions of the clan land units were arrogated for the purpose of clan worship. If the Brahmin priesthood had not come in as a separate factor, the theocratic tendencies in the state might probably have resulted in the centralisation of these Piba lands into something like the church lands, by virtue of their holding the clan or family god, which went in support of the sun-priesthood in Peru. Very similar to Peru we had the Manipuri command over coerced labour, e.g., Thongtia Puren and Thumjaoratiga, overacts of salt, Akakup Lakpa, the chief overseer of "lakup" in the Alakup Puna with his staff and so on. A strict census of the adult male labour available in each "family group" had to be maintained by the head of the family group, the "piba," for the central labour burden, the "Ikhundin." There were also provision for roads and rest houses in pre-British days, but the analogy stops here. Though there was the control of the state for supplying the militia and public utilities, we have no sure record of the produce of the land being centralised in the royal storehouses. Each family group generally maintaining its own granary handed over no doubt a portion to the state. This portion of the grain taken by the state does not seem to be in lieu of taxes and the grain stored in the family granary was for the maintenance of the whole labour system while that taken by the state was for the distribution to the officials maintaining it. For the entire labour was commanded by the state, yet the labourer had to do public service providing himself, for his own food, from the family granary. Each one had to serve in rotation, for a certain number had to be left at home to raise the crops for feeding the entire labour population. It is only with the advent of the British perhaps that regular tax is being imposed and the land revenue department had been organised directly by the British officers. Previous to that the entire individual obligation to the state was paid by labour and labour alone, and as the state did not maintain labour directly, it had no necessity of

commodoreering the entire produce of land in the central granary.

This comparison with the *brahmanical* system holds good so far as we speak of state socialism and may be contrasted with it as the Menter system is not a form of rule or aristocratic despotism like theirs. Is it not possible that the monarchic community with a theoretically despotic king of the Menter adopted these socialist principles together with the adoption of theocracy and dedication of the king? Some of the stages to this day are proclaimed in the story of the presentation of the *Ungku* of Asomu still recorded as the person itself of the king by *kyangklu* maha, King of Pung. This dedication of the king further had an important consequence, it prevented him from freely mixing with those below him, no noble, however high in rank he may be, could enter the presence of the king unless baroated, a behaviour quite contrary to that prevalent among the dwellers of the hills.

While the political administration was centralised in the hands of the king assisted by the Brahman priest, the details of judicial administration were left in the hands of clan groups mainly organised into primitive associations or secret societies as well as the labour force of 'Khandan'.

Kinship groups and households owned property and formed units of ordinary affairs. Property consisted of movable property such as goods, furniture of the household, its equipments, cattle, tools, weapons, slaves¹ who were *mawachandri* and wives².

Economically, as we have seen, Menters are agriculturists, hence the laws regarding property dealt particularly with land and its relation to the things upon it. The immovable property is individually owned and inherited, from parents to children. The land was inalienable, it could not be bought or sold under the native law, since it belonged to the individual, his family and his heirs in perpetuity. The owner had full right of the land, on everything upon it, could plant or cultivate anything he liked

¹ Cf. *Brahmanical*, *ibid.*, p. 17, and Macleod, *ibid.* pp. 24-25.

² Macleod, *ibid.*, p. 19, and Hodson, *ibid.*, p. 92.

in his portion. He could not, of course, pledge or pawn his land for his debts. He may give the use of his land to another for cultivation with or without rent. Such an occupier does not acquire any right in it by prescription, so he must evacuate the land at any time after the harvest, if the owner gives him notice. In the older revenue system the land was of two classes—the Phamlon held by freeholders and the Tantuan, held by ordinary cultivators.⁴ The Tantuan was regarded to be owned absolutely by the man who held it, provided he contributed the prescribed amount of Pim (quid) to the royal treasury.

Rights of way through another's land were recognised whenever necessary and such trespasses were sanctioned. There are rights of way by the general public for drinking purposes through every land which adjoins a stream.

Borrowing and lending was and still is of everyday occurrence owing to the continual obligations to give feasts and perform ceremonies. Sicknes or death of a kinsman or other member of the family, and the payment of fines are a continual drain on a man who has to borrow to make his obligation good. Debt is a sacred thing and is thus indelibly drag with the assets. Dr. Hudson has well described the enforcement of debts as well as the pawning of himself, his slave or his wife.⁵ On my enquiring other methods of realising debts one set of informants gave me that "Dharma" was not practised but to others, when I showed them the injunctions in Manu, VIII, 49 and Briha-pur. XI, 54-55, they seemed to abom it, as such further verification is necessary on this point.

Contracts on oath and before witness were enforced. The oath to be taken was settled by the custom of the locality. A contract would terminate on mutual assent.

In the domain of *Criminal Law* the Meites recognised murder, manslaughter, assault and theft, sexual irregularities, mainly breach of the laws of exogamy and breach of marriage

⁴ Hudson, *The Meites*, p. 89 sq.

rules. The major division of crime was crime against the king and revolt against authority. The crimes against the king mainly treason which was punished with death by drowning with all followers or whipping to death, while any woman in it was eternally confined. The statutory punishment for adultery was retribution of a fine of Rs. 50 from the adulterer followed by a divorce. Rape is rare. Murder is almost always punished by death, though sometimes a distinction between design and accident was made in which case mutilation was inflicted in the belief that the thing happened by being instigated by the evil spirit. Theft was generally cattle theft and was in early times punished with death. A thief was flogged for the first offence, mutilated as punishment for the second and put to death for his third. But later on banishment to a *ba* village together with a degradation of caste was substituted for death. The punishment in case of a woman was banishment or what the Chronicles called *Khangonam* which Prof. Hodson¹ has graphically described. The custom and procedure was to put the murderer to death in the same way as he committed it.

In order to understand clearly the juristic concepts and political institutions as correlated with economic type of life and material culture as well as definite psycho-sociological or psychos-ethnological tendencies, we would study side by side a Naga tribe on the one hand and a Kuki on the other, contrasted with the complex constitution of the Manipur State.

The lifelong studies of Dr. Hutton have enabled him to dissociate completely the Naga from the Kuki culturally and perhaps mutually. To us the important distinction would be to recognise in the Kuki a "migratory habit" a predatory instinct and a nomadism in strong contrast to the Naga's attachment to the village site and the ancestral grave. On the other hand the possession of a bachelor dormitory as a separate building is more in evidence amongst the Nagas. It is very hard to generalise

features of difference all along the line. Outstanding linguistic and tribal features mark them out as separate entities. But there are many Naga tribes as well as quite different Kuki groups who differ amongst each other to a large extent. There are also Naga tribes within Manipur and outside it and similar is the case with Kukis. While it is premature to attempt to find out a Naga prototype common to all Naga tribes or a Kuki primitive substratum, we can at least find Naga and Kuki tendencies in contrast with Manipur system or outside it and thus arrive at a different socio-political force operating more or less in the same environment under different cultural conditions.

We pass on first to the Angamis who are mostly found outside the pale of Meitei influence though known to the latter as the Angamis. They offer many remarkable points of contrast with the Meitei system, showing more democratic tendencies and age-groups rather than a hierarchy of clans and officials. These peoples are active and warlike headhunters divided by internal feuds seem to be a homogeneous community of hunters and agriculturists having no social stratification and distinction of rank due to birth and wealth. Simultaneously again we have besides the agriculturists, a group of artisans, i.e., blacksmiths, potters, etc., as well as hunters and fishermen. Thus they may be placed now in the second grade of agriculturists—the grade in which the produce of the soil forms the main source of subsistence though hunting and fishing have not been abandoned. But while akin to the Meiteis in definite settlements and segregated occupational groups their original dominant texture of hunting and agricultural life is the predominant note while amongst the Meiteis it is now-a-days industrialism. This it is that the Meiteis developed more fully the state while the Angamis had nothing better than petty chiefs and local councils. The democratic council also indicates a less rigid constitution and hence less centralised administrative and judicial machinery and greater functioning of customary law.

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The Angami villages are organised on the basis of kinship but the whole tribe is regimented into mainly three confederacies namely the Angami pure of the Khonoma group, the people of the Kolaon group, and the Chakruim group or the Eastern Angamis. They are related to the Khoira Nagas on the east, Katcha Nagas and the Kukis Nagas of Manipur. Again a close connection between the Angamis, Semu, Ao, Lhota, and Rengma Nagas is inferred from their legends of origin, one of which describes the Angamis as the eldest branch. Linguistically, Sir George Grierson places the Gunnus in the Tibeto-Chinese family under the Western Naga sub-group of the Assam-Burmese Branch.

They are organised into exogamic political clans. Their organisation as a whole and their tripartite grouping with all its societies is bound up very intimately with a rich ceremonial life. Descent is always patrilineal—and the property is divided between the sons, the eldest getting the best bed. The villages are all situated on the rugged crest of the Naga Hills where climate and soil allowed extensive cultivation. Most of them were in fact fortified positions or were constructed on spots which admitted easy defence. When natural fortifications were lacking ditches and ramparts were constructed. The number of rectangular huts all having a tendency to face east give the village a perfect poise and forms a seat of economic organisation. What attracts most in the sociological analysis of the Angami constitution is the *moring* or bachelors' dormitory serving also the purpose of plaza—a great rallying point of village life. All consultations are held in this morung which also serves as the hall of justice and at the same time it sanctions all sorts of operations.

Of paramount importance which bind together the members of the village community are the bonds of kinship which break up the village into a number of distinct groups. In this process of regimentation the Angamis form a close parallel to the Bontoc Igorot of the Philippines with similar terraced agriculture who also are organised in large family groups and several such family



groups are combined in a large political unit similar to that of the Angamis. Each of the political units of both these tribes has its separate house of pasture with a governing council of elders that make peace and challenge war and so on. In both these tribes again the complex unwritten code is recognised by all the people and infractions are avenged by blood feud—the members of the wronged family hunted the head of the transgressor and if they succeeded they were retaliated in the same way.

In their economic life there is great similarity and besides their developed system of terraced agriculture, they hunt wild animals, herd domestic animals, do some fishing, make implements of iron, utensils of wood as well as pottery and basketry along with their rice culture.

In these distinct groups or the clans all the members are usually related to one another by common descent. Thus the socio-economic unit takes its stand on the tie of kinship rather than on the commonalty or common land and then obeyed the laws of this kin group. The descriptions of Captain Butler and Captain Woodthrope speak of the Angamis as possessing "no regular settled form of government. With them might is right and this is the only form of law or rather the absence of all law—heretofore recognised among them (Butler, I. A. S. B., XLIV, p. 311). Every man does what he thinks right—a form of democracy very difficult to conceive of as existing even for a single day yet it exists here is an undeniable fact" (J. A. I., XI, p. 68). This description of the psychology of the people seems to be more dominated by the idealistic conceptions of the noble-savage and does not seem to be actually warranted by facts. Each man is never for himself, he is a representative of his group sentiment—the interest of his kin—in a marked degree. The personality of every Angami is bound up with the kindred and clan and his

Colonel Hepburn in his analysis of these people as possessing a democratic nature of tribal arrangement among the Angamis. The caste divisions and disputes existing even among a tribe rendered impossible to hope for success for the policy of colonization of areas proposed by government. Also MacKenzie, p. 118.

kin is responsible for him for his misdeemours as well as crimes—a case of collective responsibility. Further such association of an Angum with the war society of his people may be described as tending towards a commonum where every individual is compelled to take a fair share of the duties of his kin and broadly speaking, his tribe.

Each village had a number of distinct families usually consisting of a man and his wife with perhaps two or more children. Generally there is one house to a family though occasionally there can be more than one in a single house. The cattle and the poultry—the pigs generally occupying another compartment under the same roof—belong to the family and so also is definitely apportioned the plough terraces of each family. Thus the family is the nucleus of the individual economic cycle of life and activities. There is however the more important bigger group, *khet*, which we term "family groups" as each consists of several families more or less bound together on traditions and bonds of kinship. They enforce important political and legal functions and the village is in aggregate of several *khet*s and not of families. This is clear when we find the corporate body in the village—the village council consisting of the heads of the *khet* "panmaks" and not the heads of the families. Thus the village council is a sort of a corporate judicial and political unit constituted by the kinship grouping of *khet*s and yet possessing territorial jurisdiction over all the *khet* lands. A third stage is discernible in the office of the Chieftain who symbolises as it were the territorial authority of the village. He is really a figure-head—the village council being paramount. But times of stress, danger and war have necessitated his existence. War, and specially head-hunting expeditions, lead to his election to an office and leadership.

The set of influential men called *panmaks* are also leaders of war presided over by the chief. These selected heads are chosen

in each generation for their personal bravery and capacity, the test of which lay in war, valour and victorious head-hunting which is also a widespread trait in the social organisation among the Philippine tribes. In times of peace this institution serves as the judiciary of the village. Blood-feud and head-hunting are closely interrelated and this constantly strengthens the authority of the council and the chief and also calls on them to function. At times the cross-currents of kinship in blood-feud undermine the authority of the chief. What he and his council is to do is to persuade or dissuade the parties either by force of good nature or by reasoning so as to soothe their prevailing passions. This position presents an extraordinary combination of traits. The individual, as we have seen, owes allegiance to the kin and the kin owes protection to its members against other kins, suggesting a sort of disintegration into wholly dissociated units in a village. No doubt the absence of a central authority to render decision binding on different kins, the zeal of a member of a kin to avenge the misdeeds of another group, proportioned to his proximity of kinship, the disproportionately low political powers of a chief when compared with his social functions, and the corresponding tendency of the people towards some sort of an individual independence supports all. Yet in fact the whole tribe unites all these groups into territorial units and thus by the force of the customary law revolving about all the "kin groups" which every one follows silently.

One of the fundamentals of their customary law may be studied with regard to the *penna* and *kenna*, a most important and superstitious institution in their daily life, sustaining the whole fabric of their social organisation. Both the terms generically mean the same thing as the *tabu* and act as a restraining principle in the judicial as well as economic life of an Angami which he would approach and handle with caution, to prevent the occurrence of harm on his part. For the ordinary man such a thing is always to be avoided as it is believed to impart to the man who comes in contact

with it, some sort of mysterious quality which could only be removed by ritual performance of a magical kind. These *punishments* have again different degrees of intensity ; some are treated with greater respect than others ; the penalty of infringement varies correspondingly to the degree of intensity. Thus it assisted in the maintenance of law and order and its enforcement was of great help in the protection of private property. It further regulated their behaviour and enabled them to perform many things which they would not have done otherwise and served practically the purpose of coercive laws, on the belief that a sanction of supernatural punishment will follow. This gave the administration of justice a spontaneous or rather an intuitive course and was inherited along with the birth.

The belief in the magical properties of the natural surroundings giving everything a material form as well as a life principle, acted as an incorporeal police. Gennas related to it and guarded the careless behaviour of individuals, thus regulating the life of every man by a system of stringent magical regulations for his welfare.

This authority is especially exerted by old men of the society giving the form of government which may be called gerontocracy. This body is marked from the rest of society by a sharp line. The function of this court of elders was to make equitable award so as to keep the peace and prevent the extension of wild and irregular blood-feuds. They do not go into nice questions as to the precise merits and demerits of the feuds, but prescribe certain tests, oaths and ordeals by which the appellant or the defendant may establish his case. It sets the litigant to attempt a test which if he performs he wins the case.

It should never be expected that the administration of law in the so-called savage and barbarous society of the Nagas, shall be surrounded with all sorts of legal formalities and safeguards on account of the

low stage of culture they are in. Yet they have regular forms recognised for procuring punishment of breach of tribal law or for reparation of wrongs. These are so well known that everybody knows them together with the methods of their invocation. Besides these, in the adjudication of every action each *khel* or kin-group thinks itself as an independent entity demanding a voice in all actions in common. Thus whenever anything of public importance arises or has to be undertaken, the whole village meet together in conclave so that in this respect every village forms a republic. Here again the council of elders takes the upper hand as a depository of traditions and at the same time, being the sanctioning authority, keeps pace with the *khels* individually whose rise to power was again checked by the blood-feuds, head hunting, etc.

In the sphere of criminal law also kinship played a vital

Criminal Law

part, perhaps equal to the part it played in social organisation and social intercourse.

In all offences against relatives stood as one. Each person here also could be responsible for the acts of his kinsmen. Thus principle of collective responsibility very well forms a basis of comparison with the Omahas of Nebraska where also the individuals were held responsible to their kindred and in cases involving two groups of kindred the one group was held responsible to the other as also with the frank pledge system of the Anglo-Norman. All the private crimes such as assaults, adultery within the kin group were settled between parties and their relatives with the help of go-betweens. Offences which came under the judicial cognizance of the tribe fell into two groups according to their methods of adjudication and punishment. The first group comprised of offences which were to be punished immediately by the hands of the aggrieved person or his party and proxy. These were the major offences like wilful murder and breach of rules of exogamy. For these, specially murder, no kind of machinery to determine his guilt or for reaching the decision concerning punishment was quite

necessary and the relatives of the murdered person speared the murderer at the very first opportunity without any reference to the council of elders, for killing him for the murder of his relative was a "sacred duty never to be neglected or forgotten." This theory of spelling blood to satisfy the injured party may be contrasted with that of the tribe of the Narragansets administered by *tench* for every "clan" where "all offenders are brought to this tribunal for trial." In case of murder the fellow countrymen of the murdered person will send to the friends of the murderer and invite them to bring the murderer to trial before the united *tenches*. An enquiry was made and if the murder was proved he was punished according to the degree of his guilt so that a murderer with malice aforethought was put to death by spearing while a manslaughterer received a thrashing or banished from his clan and so on. In this category again the husband of a woman used to spear the adulterer on the first opportunity. The woman was also punished before the council of elders which is a contrast to the custom of Iroquois of North America¹ where woman was regarded as the only offender of adultery and so punished alone.

In the second category fell the minor offences like culpable homicide not amounting to murder, theft and offences against the society which were adjudicated before the council of elders and the usual redress was fine or restitution of the thing with payment of seven times the value of the thing stolen. A thief caught red-handed could be given the severest penalty known to men by the offender. However to charge a man with stealing without being able to prove it meant a blood feud. Manslaughter and culpable homicide were punished by banishment according to the degree of seriousness.

Disputes regarding property were rare owing to the group interest existing as the unifying tie through the individualistic idea of proprietary right in the real estates, and the existence of

¹ Tapio, "N. T. S. Australian as quoted by Durkheim," *Elemente der Soz.* pp. 171-72. Morgan League, I, 271.

prohibitive taboos governing all these rights. Offences of breach of these rights were punished with fine payable paid to the village or the clansta in as the case may be and of expulsion in cases of aggravated offences, from the village. The ownership in the terraces seems to be individual and as such subject to sale and division between the heirs as Dr. Hutton holds, yet we have in every phase of the Angami property the keen interest of the group so that the individual rights in a land holding are subject to many claims on the part of the members of the kin and are governed, as we have said, by prohibitions having divine sanction. This conception of property exists side by side with the individual ownership in weapon, tools, clothings and other common articles and the conception of family and even individual ownership in food. Each family has its own plots of ground within the large cultivation area worked by the community which they could no doubt sell, and the harvest went to the private stores.

Rights of fisheries exist at the boundary of the village lands and are owned by the village as a whole while those in the special holes made, to collect these, by the owner of the terrace, are owned privately and any infringement of this right amounts to theft of a serious type.

Let us now come to the Kabin Nagas who are concentrated mostly in the south-western ranges of the Manipur hills. They have been living peacefully though hard pressed by the Kokis and are the oldest of the Nagas under the protection of Manipur State. Originally they were head-hunters. In one of the recent religious revivification movement, as is common amongst primitive tribes, they tried to reassert the major religious values of head-hunting — I refer to the movement of Jalingang.

These people form the southern neighbours of the branch of Nagas whom Dr. Brover describes as the Kelyas. Almost all of the authors including McCulloch, Brown, Donau^t and Dunn have divided them into two groups namely Sungbu and Poeron living in fortified villages having dormitories for young

men and women comparable to the Meitis of the Kolya group. Dr. Watt (I. A. I., Vol. XVI, p. 35) speaks of the Kukis having 3 great castes namely, 1st, Surjan, 2nd, Kotyeng, 3rd, Kaupui proper. In Dumat and Dunn's list the principal villages are Nangba, Kalanaga, Luanarg and Laalong Khola. Our information from the villages round the Kungpukhul area revealed absolutely new names of the divisions : none of them know anything about the Sungba and they closed themselves into Hame Kukus and Purong Kukus namely, linguistically different from each other and proclaiming to be the old and new branch of Kukus. The third classification was into Marigme, the dwellers of the plains, who mainly have matrimonial relations with Purongs only.

Hobhouse and others, on the authority of Dr. Watt, have placed them into the second grade of agriculturists, though some of the villages practise jhumming. But the rearing of *mithuns*, pigs and poultry and in some cases their present use of plough brings them in relation with the Dhimals (Hedgson, p. 154, quoted on p. 25, etc.). They with the Nagas in general further live in substantial houses of logs and bamboos, and use the hoe as their main implement for cultivating. The use and make of some musical instruments such as drums, sarengs in their dances and building of cone bridges on the rivers brings them to a still higher stage of culture. Then it is very difficult to place them into watertight compartments as it is too late to dissociate from them the inceptions by culture contact first or ind root; as such we should take them as we find them, whatever the cause may be which brought them to the present level, when it is not possible to discern the more recent changes. But we may note here that in spite of this higher phase in culture, however, the living in bands in small villages with exogamous groups bound by the ties of kinship or supposed relationship between the members, fortified by magico-religious ideas, place them in a lower economic order.

Villages like those of the Angamis are built on fortified spurs of hills protected sometimes by wooden parapets. Each family consisting of father, mother, son and their wives and children live in a house. Unlike the Angamis all the clans in the village live in harmony and further the unity of the clan-groups is an everyday thing. Their economy is bound up with two main occupations namely, hunting and agriculture. The women of the household cooperate in planting and harvesting the paddy. Hunting and also fishing are pursued during non-agricultural days.

All the members of the community are organised according to a system of age-groups. The device of marking grades of social maturity by difference of costume and ornaments among them forms a beautiful comparison with Nagas as well as the Mettis.

The whole society is associated with a rich communal life. Feasts occupy an important place in their culture and distribution of resources in the communal enterprise is an affair of excitement and pleasure. The division of sexes is well-marked during the genna days.

What attracts one in the village government of these people is the existence of a hierarchy of officials as a contrast to the Angami organisation. They are the Khullakpa, Luplakpa Meitei Lumpu and a few more graduated in a rank. These offices are common to all the Nagas and Kukis of Manipur and among the Nagas in Manipur are strictly assigned to certain families and are hereditary ; while amongst the Kukis specially the Kom branch as contrasted with the Khongju branch, every grade has to be entered in order by performance of a mock election. This Kuki system of gradual rise has its economic importance again, in the system of initiation to a new office. Thus when a man attains to a new office he has to give a feast.

In the Kabui government it will be a mistake if we associate the Khullakpa with government as well as with the administration of justice. He was a war leader and had a great voice in sending head-hunting expeditions. In the religious aspect of

welfare also be held a prominent position. This religion rather than a political institution made him hereditary. We may compare this function of chieftainship with that of the Eddystone Island in Melanesia.

In the sphere of law his individual authority is eclipsed by that of the village council. This feature is recorded by Dr. Watt in 1887 that amongst the Khasis each village has its nominal hereditary chief who is however powerless, the village being a miniature republic. This can be contrasted with the Angam division of a village into *khasieng* or the *Mao* (Meo) combination of a tribe under a single chief. Thus the Khasis living under the influence of the village council may be compared with such condition frequent among primitive hunting tribes. But it is also possible that the need for territorial integrity of the village for dealing with the state of Manipur led them to the adoption of a village chief not elected by kinship principle.

Amongst the Angams the chieftain is not hereditary but elective whereas among the Khasis it is hereditary. It is perhaps the peculiar connection of religious functions with the office of chieftain that makes it hereditary and not the influence of Meitei example. This is further brought out clearly in the area from the following instances. The Lyban Khelikpi succeeds his father as he is associated with priesthood and he appoints a priest to assist him for life. Among the Konyaks the office descends on the son on account of his authority in religion. In the Seinai the chieftain is hereditary and he announces all the gennas except those relating to crops which genna-innouder holds his office for life. Among the Khongjat Kukis also his association with religion and thus his sacred position makes him hereditary. While among the Ao the ceremonial aspect of their life is associated with *pa-ranjer* who is the man in high esteem and his office is hereditary—the chief not being so like the Angams' holds his position for life. But the Gennabura of the Angams is an institution which descends in his line for good

It is possible that the association of priestly function with the chief and at the same time the subordination of the religious office to a secular authority, is the result of the Matri system on the one hand and the Koki system on the other, or perhaps the hereditary chiefship is to be taken as a transitional stage from an elected chief to the feudalisation of the tribes in the area under a powerful political authority. It is however quite clear that a chief with theocratic functions is much more powerful authority than one possessing merely secular authority. But it must be remarked also that the theocratic tendencies in the area are weaker in comparison to the federating and feudalising agencies which has led to the establishment of the smaller and bigger states and even of small empires such as the Arun, Kochbari, Ahom, Meitei, etc. It is strange however that other regions of this area find the absence of any political organisation here, rather it is the bewildering variety of political organisations amongst the countless different tribes living in close contiguity to each other that gives rise to such ideas. Crude democracies, miniature republics, assemblies of the old few, autocratic chiefs, theocratic chief priests or dual rule of priest and the chief, confederations of single isolated units would be found in close juxtaposition in this area. The student of political theory may perhaps glean illustrations of all types of socio-political organisations in Assam and Upper Burma, may more, he can study the very dynamic forces in the making of different types in all their primitive simplicity here. Thus there is not the absence of political organisation but the variety and primitiveness of it that is the outstanding feature.

Every village is a miniature republic which goes on smoothly, as all agree, to depend upon the strict observance of the natural laws of personal rights and property. There is no law-giver nor any elective governing body. The headman sits in the council to decide the crimes which are committed. The highest punishment the council can inflict is the expulsion from the village, otherwise blood feuds may arise.



A SHORT NOTE ON THE PALEOLITHIC IMPLEMENT SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM THE SIWALIKS

By

DHARANIDHAR SEN.

[The following implements have been lying in the shelves of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University for over ten years. They were handed over to me by Prof. Behdud L. K. A. Ayer as having been collected by Mr. K. K. Sen Gupta from the Upper Siwaliks near Srinagar. More definite information about their history of stratigraphy is lacking and is yet to be obtained. But as they appear on the whole to differ from the South Indian types where heavy *coup de poing* and round scrapers predominate and as a group resemble more the Chou-kou-Tung and other finds in China (as described in *Archiv für Völkerkunde* by De Mortillet & Boucard), these implements are brought to notice here. In the light of the recent discoveries of the de Terra expedition, they seem to have an importance in so far as they appear to bring definite evidences of Mousterian man with a Stone culture similar to the Chinese and bearing some remarkable affinities with the early Neavan, flourishing so far North as the Himalayas.]

With a few exceptions all the implements exhibited are undoubtedly Mousterian implements. Some have a technique very strikingly similar to the technique found in the lithic industry recently obtained in Sjari Oso Gol and Cloot Tong Keou in China. Though there are few of a different technique, those implements compare well with the Chinese as a whole. It is to be noticed here that this industry lacks the usual South Indian heavy *coup de poing* and round scrapers and can be distinguished by a distinct technique for the South Indian implements. The industry as a whole is characterised by the prevalence of lighter and smaller implements of undoubtedly Mousterian technique which stands comparison with the Chinese. The rock, in most cases, is pure quartzite or different types of the same. In two cases, the implements are of flint.

Of the total thirty-three implements described here twenty-four can be distinguished as smaller ones measuring from 4.68 cm. by 2.67 cm. by 1.10 cm. to 6.55 cm. by 6.25 cm. by 1.47 cm. Of these twenty-four implements, ten can be distinguished as Mousterian Points (S6, S8, S10, S12, S14, S16, S18, S21, S25 and S31) of these ten, three may be described as Racloir-Points (S12, S21, and S31). There are seven Mousterian Grattoirs (S7, S13, S24, S28, S32, S33 and S35) and six lames (S1, S17, S20, S21, S2 and S42) of which there is one Lame-Point, one Grattoir-Point and another lame de couteau (knife). There is one peculiar tool in the form of an arrowhead made of flint and slightly retouched at the margin but the point is blunt.

Of the nine larger implements (S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S11, S10, S27 and S13 varying in size from 6.60 cm. by 6.10 cm. by 2.13 cm. to 11.25 cm. by 8.15 cm. by 3.10 cm., there are five different types of coup de grotte and of the remaining four tools, one may be a scraper like S 9, one a scraper-Point (S27), one, a peculiar tool which may be called a Point, and the fourth may be simply described as a Racloir (S10). A brief but systematic and typological description will be found in the following pages.

A.—Point and Racloir Points

S1—May be described as a Mousterian Point Comparable with the diverse types of Mousterian Points with retouches and obtained from Chao-Ton-Keo, China, as figured in Plate XXIII, Fig. 2 (Pal. Humain Le Paléolithique de la Chine). Also comparable with S31 which is a concave type. This implement is a convex type with a difference also noted in the medial ridges.

S12—Racloir Point comparable with the flakes with left margin retouched and superior extremity forming a chisel (Eclat bord gauche retouché extrême supérieure formé ciseau, Fig. 2 Pt. XXX (Pal. Hum. Le Paléolithique de la Chine).

S14—Mousterian Point with retouches as in S10 and is strikingly similar to the Chao-Ton-Keo Point as shown in Plate XXIII, Fig. 4 (Pal. Hum. Le Paléolithique de la Chine).

S16—Mousterian Point, broad triangular with retouched margin. One face worked. May be compared with the diverse types of Mousterian Points from China (Fig. 1-6, Pt. XXIIID). The edges are very thin and the point is very sharp.

S18—A peculiar tool which may be described as a Point, the point being broken at the head of the specimen. The edges are thick and rounded and not well retouched. It has a shouldered and crude appearance. The technique is very different with the other tools in this collection.

S23—Rocloir Point broad and leaf-like, well retouched lamellae, median ridge concave. This type is rare in China. Here too it seems this type is not very prevalent.

S25—Somewhat similar to S23 but it is of convex type, leaf-like lamellae retouched but not so marked as in S23.

S31—Mousterian Point comparable with S10. Triangular or subtriangular—margin retouched. Two lateral ridges strikingly similar to the diverse types of Mousterian points from China shown in Fig. 18, 11, XIII (cf. Lai de la Chine). Very similar to S10 where there is a difference in the lateral ridges and which is convex, while in S31 we find a concave type.

S32—Appears to be a Mousterian Point but a rude type, worked on one side and margins without any retouch. A marked finger-platform on one side.

B.—Graffois.

The grattoirs are very meagrely represented in this collection. So also we find that in China the grattoirs are much less known than the Points and the lames, both of which are widely abundant there. In this locality, the Point is more prevalent than either the lames or the grattoirs.

S7—Mousterian Rocloir—concave and leaf-like, margin very sharp, wavy and retouched, one side worked and flaked the other left plane. Axe-like and may have been hafted.

S13—Mousterian Grattoir—Subtriangular, left margin very sharp but not retouched, convex. Thick butt end or hand hold at the two other sides opposite the sharp margin, where the thickness thins out.

S24—Very concave Mousterian Grattoir—one side flaked the other plane, very thick and raised butt at the end. Other margins sharp. A very beautiful and distinct specimen and gives a cone-like appearance. Rhombohedral.

S28—Graffoir grosse (massive) convex. Faceted planes—left side

broadly lamellar—margins sharp but not well retouched, comparable with S13 but the handhold is not so thick and elevated more flat

S12—Grattoir court (small)—convex Leaf like and lamellar Margins not sharp neither retouched

S13—Grattoir court (small) more or less convex, left margin not sharp and retouched Sub triangular apex ending in a point

S15—Moustérien—Iaoclevé—narrow elevated strikingly similar to the disque ovoïde épais en quartzite (thick ovoid disc of quartzite), Fig. 5, Pl. XXII (Le Pal. flum. Le Pal. de la Chine)

C.—Lames.

S16—Moustérien knife or blade (*lame de couteau*) Very thin curved tapering edge One margin retouched and used as the cutting blade the other is thick and rendered blunt so as to fit the hand and not in any way injure it Slightly curved to the left

S17—A very beautiful specimen of lame grosse (massive blade) slightly retouched at the cutting edge Long slender blade faceted and striking platform one side flat plane Comparable to the grosse lame obtained from China and shown in Pl. XXVI Fig. 1 (Le Pal. de la Chine). The industry of lame is very in Chou-Tung-Kou where generally the technique is very mediocre and dimensions vary extremely Here also we meet with almost a parallel case but no conclusion can be reached since the lames are poorly represented in this collection.

S20—Lame court (short blade) distinct in technique (see from the last one (S17))—two margins sharp and retouched Comparable to S21 which is smaller and edges more sharp and thin This specimen can well be compared and contrasted with the blade with retouched margins (lame à retouches marginales) shown in Pl. XXVI, Fig. 11 (Le Pal. de la Chine).

S21—Lame Point, margin retouched Comparable to S20 with differences already noted there.

S22—Short notched blade (Lame court) Margin sharp and retouched

S23—Grattoir—lame Sharp and retouched margins and very deeply wavy Comparable to the tools S20 and S21.

D.—Bigger Implements.—Coup-de-poings and Scrapers

S1—A very beautiful rectangular axe-type. Very sharp cutting edge, faceted and levelled. Heavy tool, thick butt-end very well suited the hand, the haft. It is a remarkable finished specimen. Comparable to the Kenyan specimen, Pl. III, Fig. 7, p. 45 (Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony by Leaky).

S2—A typical *coup de-poing* roughly flaked over the whole of both the sides and with sharp irregular edge all round. Heavy with a thick butt-end and worked to a point by flake surface partially trimmed. Comparable to the Stellenbosch *coup de poing* (Lower Paleolithic Culture of South Africa), figured by Burkitt on page 71. Also comparable to the Kenya Acheullean unrolled *coup-de-poings*.

S3—A scraper axe-type—longer than round edges finely worked and thin, suitable for cutting. The edge is more or less oblique. The scraper progresses stepwards to the sides from an elevated median part of the implement. The other face is all plane. Comparable with rolled *coup-de-poings* from the Karanoudou River site, Elementaita (Pl. III, Fig. 6, p. 45, Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony by Leaky).

S5—Scraper type—margin retouched—one face flaked the other untrimmed and left plane, median ridge.

S11—Scraper form, but unlike S5—the faces not flaked. Only there is a medial ridge and the margin retouched. Characteristically curved and convex.

S19—Grattoir gross (massive)—Left side platformed for hand-hold—the other margin sharp and retouched. There is a notch at the base. Tapering and pointed at the head.

S27—Ragout-point—rounded or sub-triangular thick, seemingly a crude type, a peculiarly shouldered implement. Butt-end thick, elevated, heavy tool.

MEASUREMENTS.

No.	Specimen No.	Measurements	No.	Specimen No.	Measurements
1	R1	11.90 cm + 0.05 + 0.05	10	R20	10.50 cm + 0.04 + 0.05
2	R2	11.20 + 0.04 + 0.05	11	R21	11.78 + 0.07 + 0.05
3	R3	11.10 + 0.05 + 0.05	12	R22	11.57 + 0.07 + 0.05
4	R4	10.90 + 0.05 + 0.05	13	R23	11.12 + 0.07 + 0.05
5	R5	10.80 + 0.05 + 0.05	14	R24	11.02 + 0.07 + 0.05
6	R6	10.70 + 0.05 + 0.05	15	R25	10.90 + 0.07 + 0.05
7	R7	10.60 + 0.05 + 0.05	16	R26	10.80 + 0.07 + 0.05
8	R8	10.50 + 0.05 + 0.05	17	R27	10.70 + 0.07 + 0.05
9	R9	10.40 + 0.05 + 0.05	18	R28	10.60 + 0.07 + 0.05
10	R10	10.30 + 0.05 + 0.05	19	R29	10.50 + 0.07 + 0.05
11	R11	10.20 + 0.05 + 0.05	20	R30	10.40 + 0.07 + 0.05
12	R12	10.10 + 0.05 + 0.05	21	R31	10.30 + 0.07 + 0.05
13	R13	10.00 + 0.05 + 0.05	22	R32	10.20 + 0.07 + 0.05
14	R14	9.90 + 0.05 + 0.05	23	R33	10.10 + 0.07 + 0.05
15	R15	9.80 + 0.05 + 0.05	24	R34	10.00 + 0.07 + 0.05
16	R16	9.70 + 0.05 + 0.05	25	R35	9.90 + 0.07 + 0.05
17	R17	9.60 + 0.05 + 0.05	26	R36	9.80 + 0.07 + 0.05

SABOUREAN BEADS AND BANGLES

By

SUBANTA KUMAR BOSK, B.Sc.

A good number of beads of various shape and size are found at the megalithic site at Sabour. The most interesting among the beads are those which are painted. They have a very decent finish.

The materials used are mostly minerals of crypto-crystalline varieties of oxide of silica and broadly include opaque and colloidal quartz.

There are chalcedony of various groups—carmine chrysophore, agates, onyx, jasper, flint.

Some of the beads have been perforated, some are in making. These beads could be so arranged as to illustrate the method of making beads from a crude stone to a finished one. The technique of work, as shown, consists in pressure flaking and notching. Polishing is greatly marked in some of them.

In classifying the shapes of these beads we find (1) *Barrel shaped beads*, (2) *Oval beads*, (3) *Horned beads*, (4) *Square beads*, (5) *Hexagonal beads*, (6) *Rectangular beads*, (7) *Pentagonal cylinder beads*, (8) *Pentagonal beads*, (9) *Tubular beads*, (10) *Square cylinder beads*, (11) *Drum beads*, (12) *Plano-concave beads*, (13) *Circular beads*, (14) *Plano-concave pentagonal beads*, and (15) *Plano-convex elliptical beads*.

216 beads have been collected from a place about half a square mile in area.

Taking the *plano-concave elliptical beads*, Nos. 103, 140 and 151, we note—

1st group—No. 103 is a transparent colourless crystal with a *plano-convex cross section* and *elliptical transverse section*. The

convex surface is rough. The plain under-surface has been flaked. It has not been perforated.

No 151 is made of agate with two translucent bands at one end. It is white in colour with a plano-convex cross-section and elliptical transverse section. It is unperforated and unfinished.

3rd group.—Plano-sub-convex pentagonal beads

Nos 148 and 149 are the only two which have been shaped to a pentagonal transverse section with a rectangular cross-section. The apex of the convex surface is more or less parallel to the plain under-surface.

Possibly these were on the way of being made a double pentagonal-sided bead, having a raised pentagonal transverse section and two pentagonal planes on the two lateral sides, giving a hexagonal cross-section.

No 148 gives a distinct sign for that type as it has again been refaced at the lower angular border of the under-surface, which makes the upper transverse a true pentagonal.

Both of these are made of agate and none are perforated or finished.

3rd group.—Plano-convex and sub-convex circular beads

They are 16 in number.

Nos 32, 77, 85, 86, 90, 145, 162 and 153 are plano-convex-circular beads.

All of these have plano-convex cross section and circular transverse section.

Except No 33 which is made of smoky translucent quartz all are made of agate.

Nos 152 and 153 show that they were at first made a plano-convex pentagonal bead and then their pentagonal sides have been worked out as a plano-convex circular bead.

None of these has been perforated or completed.

4th group—Nos. 79, 91, 147, 150, 164, 155, are Plano-sub-concave-circular beads.

No 79 has 12 translucent natural circular bands in a space of 4 mm along the transverse section. None of these are perforated or finished.

Coming to the circular round beads they are found to be 19 in number.

5th group — Nos. 74, 75, 76, 80 and 84 are very nicely flaked and notched to a perfect round shape. Though none of these are polished or perforated they show a completion of shape.

No. 74 is deep smoky in colour and No. 76 is a beautiful deep orange coloured stone. The other colours vary from milky white to dull white.

No. 95 is a nice example of a polished perforated circular round bead.

Though it is broken while perforating, the perforation is marked transversely.

It is milky white and has a shining colour.

The others vary in size the biggest in this collection approximately of 1.772 cm diameter and the smallest is approximately 7.18 mm. in diameter.

6th group — Taking the drum shaped beads, which are 10 in number, it is found that they vary greatly in size. No. 81 Y though broken is of 1.454 cm radius and 2.008 cm diameter and is the biggest of all and has been perforated vertically along the flattened sides. It has beautiful white natural bands diverging towards the circular border from the perforated centre along the flattened sides.

No. 8 B X is made of a beautiful agate which has about 100 fine white natural bands along the transverse circular region at a space of 1.272 cm. It has been polished.

The two flattened circular drum regions are rough. It is unperforated.

No. 69 is a deep smoke coloured polished perforated bead having circular transverse section and a rectangular cross section.

The lateral flat sides are parallel to each other but rough and unpolished.

There is a beautiful white natural band at the centre of the circular transverse section. One flattened side is smoky and the other is white.

All others, Nos. 1, 47, 55, 67, 58, 59, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 73X, 73Y, 115 and 129, are in the stage of being made a rough circular transverse section and rectangular cross section.

None of these is either polished or perforated.

They vary in colour from smoky white to orange, most of them are banded along the transverse circular region.

No. 55 and 67 are orange coloured.

The smallest one No. 74, has 4.63 mm. thickness and 2.61 mm. diameter.

7th group.—Flat tubular beads.

These beads vary from 2.87 cm. to 6.1 cm. in diameter and 8.45 mm. to 1.63 mm. (196) in thickness.

The circumferences of some of these tubular beads have been rounded off.

No. 18, 19, 193, and 134 are the broken pieces of these round circular tubular beads.

No. 194 is black but has a white band, mostly natural, along its transverse circular section.

They vary greatly in colour from brick red, white, milky black and smoky.

Some of them have natural thick white bands along the transverse circular region.

No. 405 and 407 are two broken pieces. The perforating is along the breadth. They are broken along the perforation.

The beads are 66 in number.

These are natural banded.

8th group.—Pentagonal cylinder beads.

No. 141 is the only found of that type.

It has been turned all through, giving five-barbed ridges running along its length. It has a pentagonal cross section and a rectangular transverse section. It is not perforated. It is made of smoky opaque agate.

Its median portion is thick and the two ends are narrow.

The transverse are at right angles to the length of the bead.

9th group.—Dimpled barrel beads.

There are 9 in number, and each one differs from the other in colour.

No. 187 is yellow.

No. 145 is pink with an orange tint.

No. 133 is light yellow orange.

No. 187 is milky white with a dull yellow touch.

No. 184 is yellow with an orange tint.

No. 185 is orange outside & yellow inside in some proportions.

No. 186 is black red and yellow mixed.

No. 186 is orange with white eye.

No. 188 is translucent or translucent.

Enough more of these may have been perforated or crushed, only No. 186 gives a definite impression that it is a true elliptical eye border along one of the sides and a rounded cross-section and a barrel-shaped transverse section.

All others have round a wide band where nothing flaked or polished.

The technique of work is lost to the present day.

19th group - Square cylinder beads

These are 30 in number, of various colours, and most of them have beautiful bands running along the cross-section.

No. 189 these are perforated & polished they vary in length from 2.0 cm. to 8 mm. and 1 cm. to 1 mm. in thickness.

No. 190 is smoky at the two ends and has otherwise white and dark bands of about six fine lines covering a space of 1.1 cm. It is flaked along its length.

No. 198 is a white smoky square cylinder bead with no bands.

No. 199 is a light smoky translucent square cylinder bead with a rectangular transverse section and a square cross-section one end of which has possibly painted white, curved lines.

It has been not fired but is not polished.

No. 190 is a beautiful coloured bead half of which has a medium brown colour, then comes a smoky band and again a series of brown fine bands passing along the cross-section which rests on the smoky portion, the bead then ending in a brown overhanging end.

No. 195 is a dull orange-coloured bead having a tendency towards the barrel shape. Its two ends being convergent makes the central portion the thickest. It has also though been flaked at one end to its length leaving very fine sets of parallel ridges which pass at right angles to its length.

No. 196 is a dull brick red flaked square cylinder bead. A bulb of percussion is marked at one corner.

No. 130 is an oval bead of uniform size and colour. The colour ranges from light yellow, orange, white to deep red. It is also flaked at its ends to its length.

No. 131 is a rectangular bead with rounded ends.

No. 132 and 133 are two triangular beads with light smoky bands.

No. 134 is a white oval covered with a series of orange-yellow bands which are 13 in number.

No. 135 is a square thin bar about one-half the width of a common coin with horizontal stripes of white and blue.

No. 136. Though it is square in shape it has rounded heads. It has been ground and polished except the majority of the portion is black and the remainder has patterns of blue, yellow, orange and white.

11th group—Rectangular cylinder beads.

Five specimens in this group. Nos. 137 and 138.

No. 139 is made of a very soft stone and shows it has attained the rectangular section by being cut down.

No. 140 is of high grade sandstone. It has attained the rectangular section.

None of these are perforated.

12th group.—Square beads:

These are 45 in number. They range in length from 1.8 cm to 5.45 mm.

Nos. 108, 104, 106, 109, 101, 110, 200, 205, 113, 112, 114, 118, 120, 121, 127 and 119 range colour from light orange to deep orange.

No. 128 shows a parallel groove running transversely on one of the lateral sides. It is an etched bead.

No. 111 is a long smoky white, with the two longitudinal sides of the square being rounded off. It is made of a low grade opal stone.

Nos. 111, 112 and 218 are transparent colourless crystals.

Nos. 210, 207, 106, 111, 104, 110 and 211 vary in colour from light smoky white to deep brown smoky.

No. 190, 208, 107, 205, 206, 119, 102, 204, 207, and 118 gradually move from smoky white to light black and white combined.

Nos. 211, 212, 223, 224, 301, 313, 322 and 323 vary from deep black to light black.

None of these have been perforated or polished, but all have attained a certain square shape. The thinness are sometimes done along the length, sometimes diagonally.

But when we come to No. 329 which is a true square bead with the angular points filed off, it is clear which gives a flattening in all four angles opposite the other along the sides, two being on the two outer posterior portions. It is made of transparent, colourless raw crystal. It has twice been perforated, once from the center or side then from the side opposite to it, meeting at each other. Possibly this was therefore rejected.

Both the grooves were marked out to show a fair way of boring in.

13th group.—Triangular cylinder bead

No. 309 is one example of this. It has a triangular cross section and a rounded surface. It is made of translucent yellowish-green glass. The ends are cut off and smoothed.

14th group.—Triangular prism

No. 310 is one example of this. It has a triangular cross section and a rounded surface. It is made of translucent yellowish-green glass. The ends are cut off and smoothed off and one surface has a hole.

15th group.—Hexagonal barrel bead

No. 311 is one example of this. It has a hexagonal cross section and a rounded surface. It is made of translucent yellowish-green glass. The ends are cut off and smoothed off and one surface has a hole.

16th group.—The most interesting among those collections are the painted and decorated ones which show a distinctive class by themselves.

Most of the beads are also painted with some paint—especially squares.

No. 320. This is a very large example of this. It has been completely covered with the white paint which is the most powerful medium for painting. It is a bright yellowish-green which is the original colour of the bead.

Among the painted beads the next specimen is one square-shaped coloured bead with a square white band on each side and 5 dots

in the middle of the square band. Four dots are on the four corners of the square and one in the centre of the square. It is perforated.
This is No. 416.

There is another square tablet bead which has three square bands on the two surfaces and a boundary of crosses is drawn diagonally into the second band square.

It is nearly pointed that the points are not perceptible by hand. The two surfaces were cut and some white dotted crosses were found on. At the end of the band were the broken parts of one of the points. In order to find it was broken while drilling. It was to fit in a small square tablet square surface.

Plates and fragments.

No. 420 and 421 are broken pieces of this type. They begin with a short oval extension from a straight band. Their two sides are rounded and the portion of the band is straight and cut with a sharp edge. They are broken pieces and are probably
Plate II.

No. 422 consists of a thin uncoloured stone which has been pointed at both ends. There are four or five respective flat sides running parallel to each other along the length of the head. This is a pointed head. At the head there were a broken two pointed heads which had been joined. There is only one at the corner and with loops of thread. Perforated when passed through a string.

No. 423 is a fine broken piece of the above. It is an orange colour stone. The pointed ends are broken off. The running lines of the band and the pointed band are very narrow spans. It was impossible to identify the name of the stone due to its length of the head.

Number of perforated and broken.

Circular round beads:

No. 424 and 425. Both these are made of uncoloured stones, and they are broken pieces. They are pointed with white dotted crosses over the whole body.

No. 426 and 427 are broken half pieces of circular round beads. Their perforations are enlarged possibly broken while drilling.

No. 410 is made of dark grey stone which is painted with white bands and has become red to each other.

No. 411 is a white stone which has got two pentagonal bands painted on it and the space in those pentagons has been painted with black colour. Perforation is marked.

Flat Tabular beads

No. 414 is a complete specimen of the round or undifferentiated flat tabular beads. It is a heavy sand-painted and ground bead. The white band does not touch the black surface. (Pl. II.)

No. 419 and 420 are two broken pieces of a round specimen with white painted bands.

Broken pieces:

No. 415 and 417 are two broken pieces white in colour but painted in black, the white bands being rhomboidal in 415 and pentagonal in 417. (Pl. II.)

In comparing these beads with other such finds I find great difficulty as there is no systematic record reported as yet for the beads from a monolithic site.

To taking the elongated barrel bead No. 416 (Pl. II.) I must refer to a find by Dr. R. H. Horne who excavated them from Megalithic tombs at Raigir.

It is difficult to date these beads. Since I take the monolithic finds to be identical with them, if we were the date at the very place later on when it was the settlement period.¹ Anyway I cannot but find that there was a workshop for making these beads and sending them out as trade goods. That is proved by the finding being a series of unfinished beads. I have found big slabs of stones which must have been brought from other sites situated within a few miles of this place but no such similar objects could be found. Many of the beads have attained to shape but the marks of workmanship are still left on them.

Except only one triangular cylindrical bead no (round) barrel bead was found. This might have given rise to a triangular barrel shape by cutting off the raised sides. Mr. Horace G. Beck writes that beads of this shape were found at the third and fourth stages of quartz and dates them about 2000 B.C. or earlier and that this kind of beads was known in Tassian civilization which is the earliest civilization yet found in Egypt.

Dr. Hunt excavated a series of two types of quartz and one of jasper.

The transparent ones have been cut by the workmen of quartz.

There are some very fine ones in the R.C. collection, found along with the beads. These beads are distinguished by their beautiful natural bands.

Coming to the last, one large bead I have only one perforated specimen but it is very nicely cut and finished. It is of a deep crimson-coloured stone. (No. 401 Pl. II.)

A quarter-bead of the same was found from a grave at U. It dated 3500 B. C.

An Indian bracelet made of jasper has existed before 3000 B. C.

According to Mr. F. H. Madan, the best finds of beads in prehistoric times are those of the Indus Valley Civilization.

I found and collected some hand tools, some beads, fibulae, beads, etc., from the Indus valley. The beads appear to be hand-made. Some are very fine. One large. The material differs a great deal.

The beads of the Indus valley compare them more and design have seldom been equalled.

Some beads from the Indus valley are very fine. Beads thus obtained are very good in colour, shape, size, etc. But I find the beads from the Indus valley and those looking with some designs like crosses and shapes from natural colour.

Next to the beads from the Indus valley specimens of beads from the Indus valley and Sialkot from Sialkot.

No. 16 is a very fine specimen of a bead with very fine lemon-coloured bands around it.

No. 17 R and S are also brownish-green but they are only white in colour.

Beads, pointed and pointed of various shapes and designs have been found in other parts of India as well as in the Indus Valley. I have seen several beads from Amritsar, Peshawar N.W. of Howrah, Punjab from Ranikhet, Chitravasini, from Malerkotla district, Nagpur Central Provinces and from Dharwar, Bengaluru District.

In the book of beads of various shapes from Agra I found one

coral, deer antler perforated with two holes, situated at the converging end after the straight portion — Fig. 10, 11, 12, etc.

The cylindrical beads are very numerous indeed in shape. There are four known bead forms — 1. conical head by cylindrical barrel beads and tabular beads.

Among those found in Mahurjari District, Nagpur, Central Provinces, most of these forms are present. There is one orange-coloured white dot painted black — just the same in character as No. 405 from Sabour.

The known beads in my collection are as follows —

Bead No. 100 is made of coral, with stand from elephant and shaped head. The perforation is oval-shaped.

Bead No. 110 from Sabour could be pencil-shaped — though unporforated it has a good lot pencil-shaped beads.

Bead No. 116 is a box-like cylinder-shaped made of rock crystal, divided into four sections by a horizontal band. Bead No. 117 is the typical bead of the Sabour culture — easily识别。In my Sabour collection there are many beads — No. 407 a complete specimen from that site.

Bead No. 118 is a small yellowish bead of green material whose transverse hole has been roughly cut and the perforation is elliptical in shape — there are many of this type in the collections from Sabour.

In the class of beads No. N. S. 119 there are two beads which have pentagonal head, pointed over them. No. 117 from Sabour has a pointing of that character.

In specimen No. S. 50 there is one square tabular bead orange coloured and several pentagonal cylinder beads. There is one hexagonal tabular bead with a median portion raised.

There are many square tabular beads in my Sabourian finds, e.g., Nos. 203, 204, 210, 122, 131, etc.

As regards the pentagonal cylinder bead No. 111 from Sabour, though unperforated it has a fine pentagonal shape. There are no hexagonal tabular beads in my collection. I do not think there are these finds. My best thanks are due to Mr. S. Mitra of Bhagalpur, Master Amavayant Patna of Sabour and Mastets Ashoke and Kalvankumar Mitra of Belgaum, who helped me in collecting these finds from the site.

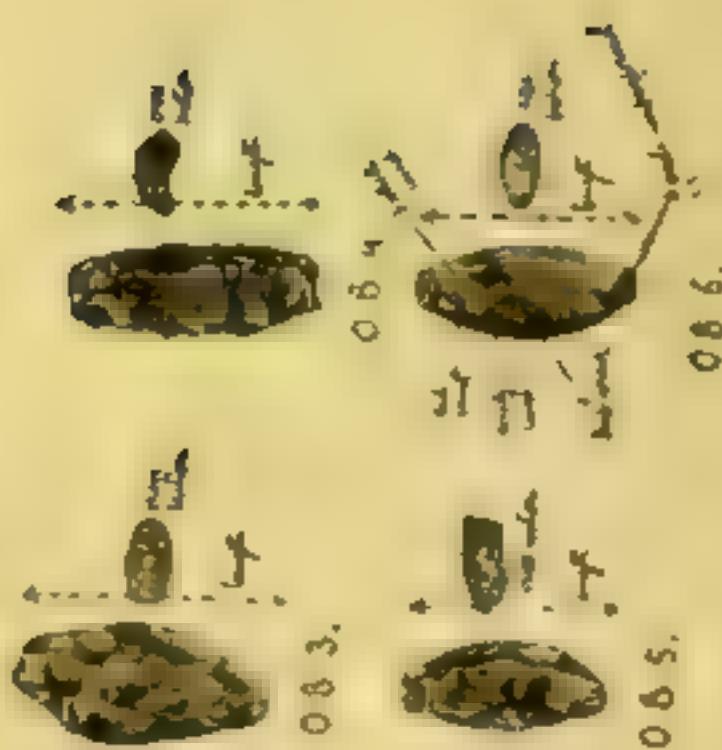
I have special pleasure to mention that Mr A. K. Sen, M.A., Calcutta University, has kindly revised my paper. Mr Dharanidhar Sen, M.Sc., has examined the materials used for making the beads and my brother Mr Santo Bose has helped me in taking the photographs of the beads.

Oval Band in the marking.
(Same - checkerboard group)



0.6.1.

0.6.2.



0.6.3.

0.6.4.

0.6.5.

0.6.6.

Some Suburban Tools of the First People



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Subtropical Broad—cont'd

83

S. H. BOSE

No.	Name	L.	W.	Tn	Diam (L)	Color	Remarks
119	square head	5.71	5.00	7	5.00	6.79 mm	Deep black
200		6.11	5.00	7	5.00	6.61 "	dark slate blue
191		7.16	5.00	7	5.00	7.16 "	oblique transverse
714		7	7	7	7	White and black	Do
119		9	9	7.71	7	6.73	white & black
153		8.63	7	8.74	7	8.18	Do
126		7.71	7	7.71	7	6	white
104		7.16	6.10	6.64	6	6.64	light black
125		6.30	7	7	7	6	black
177		8.19	6.10	8.19	6	8.19	orange
121		7.61	7	7	7	7	Do
301		7.16	7	6.64	7	6.77	black
105		7.71	7	7.71	7	7	Transverse
120		7.16	7	7.16	7	7.16	slate
125		7.16	7	7.16	7	7.16	grey and white spots
74	sparsely spined head	1.61 cm	1.61 cm	1.61 cm	1.61 cm	Medium grey	
74		1.61 "	1.61 "	1.61 "	1.61 "	Pink white	
74		1.61 "	1.61 "	1.61 "	1.61 "	Orange	



SABOUREAN BEADS AND BANGLES

93

11	White
12	Sand-colored and white
13	White
14	White with orange
15	White
16	White, broken, beads
17	White
18	White
19	White
20	White
21	White
22	White
23	White
24	White
25	White
26	White
27	White
28	White
29	White
30	White
31	White
32	White
33	White
34	White
35	White
36	White
37	White
38	White
39	White
40	White
41	White
42	White
43	White
44	White
45	White
46	White
47	White
48	White
49	White
50	White
51	White
52	White
53	White
54	White
55	White
56	White
57	White
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187	White
188	White

Southern Ruddy—Female

24

K BOSE

No.	Name	L.	B.	Tb.	Dm. 12	Dm. 13	Feathers	Remarks
52	Dark head	6.45	1.74	6.54	1.70	6.54	White	White tail
67		6.77	1.73	6.77	1.73	6.77	Longish white	White broad band
70		6.71	1.71	6.71	1.71	6.71	Do	
71		6.74	1.72	6.74	1.72	6.74	Longish white	Do
72		6.77	1.71	6.77	1.71	6.77	White tail	White and streaky bands
73		7	1.77	7	1.77	7	White	White tail
74		6.45	1.045	6.45	1.045	6.45	Longish white	White band
75		6.77	1.77	6.77	1.77	6.77	Light brown	Longish white
68		6.77	1.77	6.77	1.77	6.77	White	Longish white and long white band
69		6.77	1.77	6.77	1.77	6.77	White	
70		7.36	1.77	7.36	1.77	7.36	White bands	
71		7.63	1.77	7.63	1.77	7.63	Longish white	Do
72		6.50	1.71	6.50	1.71	6.50	Do	
73		6.46	1.71	6.46	1.71	6.46	Long streaky	White broad patches
74		7.17	1.77	7.17	1.77	7.17	Long	White band
75		6.43	1.76	6.43	1.76	6.43	Do	
76		6.43	1.77	6.43	1.77	6.43	Do	
77		6.43	1.77	6.43	1.77	6.43	Do	
78		6.43	1.77	6.43	1.77	6.43	Black and white	Do

SABOL BEAN BEADS AND BANGLES

Laser filter	Wavelength (cm ⁻¹)
137	Supraorbital hooded bird
138	+
139	+
140	1501 cm ⁻¹
141	1132 cm ⁻¹
142	1134 cm ⁻¹
143	1136 cm ⁻¹
144	1138 cm ⁻¹
145	1140 cm ⁻¹
146	1142 cm ⁻¹
147	1144 cm ⁻¹
148	1146 cm ⁻¹
149	1148 cm ⁻¹
150	1150 cm ⁻¹
151	1152 cm ⁻¹
152	1154 cm ⁻¹
153	1156 cm ⁻¹
154	1158 cm ⁻¹
155	1160 cm ⁻¹
156	1162 cm ⁻¹
157	1164 cm ⁻¹
158	1166 cm ⁻¹
159	1168 cm ⁻¹
160	1170 cm ⁻¹
161	1172 cm ⁻¹
162	1174 cm ⁻¹
163	1176 cm ⁻¹
164	1178 cm ⁻¹
165	1180 cm ⁻¹
166	1182 cm ⁻¹
167	1184 cm ⁻¹
168	1186 cm ⁻¹
169	1188 cm ⁻¹
170	1190 cm ⁻¹
171	1192 cm ⁻¹
172	1194 cm ⁻¹
173	1196 cm ⁻¹
174	1198 cm ⁻¹
175	1200 cm ⁻¹
176	1202 cm ⁻¹
177	1204 cm ⁻¹
178	1206 cm ⁻¹
179	1208 cm ⁻¹
180	1210 cm ⁻¹
181	1212 cm ⁻¹
182	1214 cm ⁻¹
183	1216 cm ⁻¹
184	1218 cm ⁻¹
185	1220 cm ⁻¹
186	1222 cm ⁻¹
187	1224 cm ⁻¹
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206	1262 cm ⁻¹
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215	1280 cm ⁻¹
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217	1284 cm ⁻¹
218	1286 cm ⁻¹
219	1288 cm ⁻¹
220	1290 cm ⁻¹
221	1292 cm ⁻¹
222	1294 cm ⁻¹
223	1296 cm ⁻¹
224	1298 cm ⁻¹
225	1300 cm ⁻¹
226	1302 cm ⁻¹
227	1304 cm ⁻¹
228	1306 cm ⁻¹
229	1308 cm ⁻¹
230	1310 cm ⁻¹
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250	1350 cm ⁻¹
251	1352 cm ⁻¹
252	1354 cm ⁻¹
253	1356 cm ⁻¹
254	1358 cm ⁻¹
255	1360 cm<sup

Sabbatian Heresies

SABOURKAN BEADS AND BANGLES

07

No.	Name	Sex	L.	H.	T. _h	Bam (2x)	Cocci	Results
4	Flat head	♂	1.72	0.66	9.44	0.06	Dry white	
5		♂	1.63	—	1.04	—	White	
6		♂	3.14	—	2.61	0.06	Light brown	
7		♂	3.36	—	9.44	—	White	
8		♂	6.71	—	9	—	Do	
9		♂	9.43	—	1	0.06	Do	
10		♂	1.37	—	3.62	0.06	Do	
11		♂	3.01	—	8.16	0.06	Do	
12		♂	7.94	—	7	—	White band	
13		♂	3.47	—	4.31	—	Do	
14		♂	3.64	—	8.41	—	Dark red white	
15		♂	4.26	—	8.74	—	Cream white	
16		♂	2.43	—	9.77	—	Dark white	
17		♂	3	—	8.45	—	Light brown	
18		♂	4	—	7.38	—	Do	
19		♂	3.12	—	6.14	—	Do	
20		♂	4	—	4.01	—	White	
21		♂	3.37	—	8.44	—	Do	

SABOUREAN BEADS AND BANGLES

99

13	2	+	Ds
10	4	-	Wh. w.
17	214	+	Ds
160	173	+	Black and white
18	415	+	Wh. m.
71	327	+	Black and dull white
79	119	+	Ds
10	73	+	Laces white
104	626	+	Dull white
105	177	+	Ds
106	162	+	Light laces
107	145	+	Black and white band
108	14	+	Ds
109	16	+	Laces
110	107	+	Black and white band
104	104	+	Black and white band
105	105	+	Black and white band
106	106	+	Black and white band
107	107	+	Black and white band
108	108	+	Black and white band
109	109	+	Black and white band
110	110	+	Black and white band
79	Plane light-colored curved band	+	Laces

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it is broken, while
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Knotted (a. Bl. w.) the
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Plane white band

Sicherer Handel

SABOURÉAN BEADS AND BANGLES

161

White bands along the
length perpendicular to
the axis.

Black

472

Dots broken

Orange
Dots
White
bands
parallel
to the
axis.

Orange

-

Circular rough band

1145.00

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Dots broken

Orange
Dots
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bands
parallel
to the
axis.

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White bands

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White and black

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dimensions.

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Dots
White
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parallel
to the
axis.

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Circular band

Orange
Dots
White
bands
parallel
to the
axis.

135.00

-

Circular shape

Orange
Dots
White
bands
parallel
to the
axis.

136.00

-

-

Orange
Dots
White
bands
parallel
to the
axis.

137.00

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Tin
White and black

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Orange
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parallel
to the
axis.

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143.00

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Orange
Dots
White
bands
parallel
to the
axis.

144.00

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FISHERMAN OF THE EAST-COAST OF INDIA

By

DHARANIDHAR SEN

(A few words must be said before the head section is begun. This account is very general and will not describe, and has not much of a history except it rather written the popular sense its purpose is to give the reader only a general idea of the Nuhas, both morally and socially. I also for giving a copy of my book the "Nuhas" was sent in an exterritorial stamp by the University of Calcutta on October 1, 1921. Copying of the publication yet unpublished regarding the Nuhas as a racial type is a very interesting and very valuable as throwing some light on the history of the class of fishermen. Much debt is also due to S. Nitipal K. Dose, M.B.B.S., a well known worker in the field of anthropology.)

The Nuhas or the caste of fishermen occupying the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, from Tottakal to Nag and a little southward, maintain their existence chiefly by catching fish in the open sea, the Bay of Bengal, and, not in the inland lakes or rivers, with the exception, we know, of only one group living near the Lake Chilka and fishing in that lake. It is said that fifty families of these men were imported by the British Government from the Ganges coast and were made to settle at the Puri coast for the purpose of conveying goods to and from the ships calling at the port of Puri. The importance of Puri as a port has long ceased and the men, being out of occupation, took to fishing. In Orissa they are called Nuhia or more correctly Nahariya, i.e., the people who work on the waves, perhaps the word has something to do with the Bengali word 'Faher' phonetically, but the most numerous sector among them call themselves, 'Wada-bahij'—a Telugu expression meaning the ship's crew or mariners. Members of a smaller section designate themselves as

'Jājās,' workers at the net. It is curious that there is neither enmity nor co-operation between them and each section thinks itself superior to the other. There is a tradition that the art of catching fish was originally learned by the Jājās and stories are told here and elsewhere. Whether, I managed to learn it from the Telaris who wanted to keep the making of nets a trade secret. One of the stories goes that a new net was woven every day and was burnt out every night lest it be stolen. At length a clever Wadabali hit upon the idea to examine the burnt ashes of the nets and thus came to know of their secret. This story told and retold among the fishermen, is fabricated by the Telaris who are superior in their trade. It has some grain of truth for as it is said, these Wadabalis from their very early days were not fishermen but traders who sailed over the oceans with the islands of the Indian Ocean till the Mughals when they came sent the Portuguese pirates and later almost put a stop to the East India Company. The seafolk thus thrown out of their occupation took up fishing but to adopt fishing for their subsistence.

Another section of the fishermen, calling themselves Kaliata from Khālā, a Persian term meaning the crew of a ship, is said to have migrated into Orissa before the Wadabalis were imported. Intermarriage obtains between these two sections, evidently showing that they represent two waves of the migration, the earlier wave immigrants, the Kaliatas who have nearly forgotten their own language and have adopted the Orissa tongue. The Wadabalis have come recently, at least three generations ago i.e., when their grandfathers came and settled in Orissa. They thus still retain their own speech. Stimulated by the success of the settlers, the Wadabalis have been crowding to land from the Nizam and Gopjam coasts and have settled at Puri and along the Orissa coast still maintain their connection with those districts and speak in Telugu, though many of them can speak Orissa too.

Out of 107 individuals whose measurements were taken 17 individuals have been dropped as having been either under 20 years or about 60 years of age so that we get a series of 150 full-grown individuals. In each of whom we took 30 linear measurements, of which 13 were taken on the head, 10 on the body and the first besides the body weight and also three additional measurements i.e., height



A small bell or chime
T. Hunt p. 15



A large bell or chime
T. Hunt p. 15

expressedness, by the statura and cephalic, and the girth of the best were taken also according to the methods I intended to. Martin Verner's statistics were only at a general importance and even so have been discontinued, which will now be concisely described.

In about three thousand cases the statura. The average stature of 100 men was 60.1 in. which was below the median as fixed by Martin 61.26 in. The per centages are as follows—there are about 25% below the mean, and the rest of the men of medium stature and 11% above the median, now, of this 11%, 7% are short-fractured, 3% are tall, and 1% are long.

With regard to the head form they are predominantly dolichocephalic, the most cephalic index being 76% of the men whose are dolichocephalic, between 76% and 80% are brachycephalic, and only 6% are brachycephalic.

The nose of the Negroes fitted in fairly well with the nasal index being 7.5. Out of the series 100% are mesatrace nose while 21% are leptorrhine and 79% are platyrhino. These men are at the same time hypscephalic, the brachycephalic index being 61.9% average. Out of the negroes 67% possess the hypscephalic head with a high vault, 21% are mesatrace while only 12% are chamaecephalic.

The Negroes have prominent hair on their heads as will be seen from the plates. The colour of the hair is black wavy and sometimes curly.

The Nubians show a brownish black often leprosy skin colour. Of the 100 men 75 or 75% were measured on the Von Lindebaum colorimeter.

Thus summarising the physical features of the Negroes we find a people who are long headed, fine nosed and of medium and small stature, with plentiful black wavy hair and brownish black skin. We have here then a model of what the celebrated anthropologist Gouffrada Ruggieri and Hutton describe as the Travancore type. According to Prof. Chakravarthy, who unfortunately did not much detail, analysed the constitution of the people may be compared with the Telugu speaking people whose measurement have been given by Unsworth. His figure agrees closely with ours but it must be noted that they do not represent one single homogeneous caste nor one

case. The Arched or *Lanugo*-type (bracts equal five times) is the prominent among these 6 varieties as is seen from the calculations of a narrow range of epigaeous and peduncular. This is what may be fairly expected as the *Papillate*-type comes to prominence among the higher caste Brahmins, the untouchable lower castes like that of the Natives who are not even allowed to enter the Jigmootha temple at all having very little of the architecture. Of bracte-lepto-type there is none in our series but the double-lepto is represented by 33 individuals (including some of the listed men of correction). Here according to Prof. Chakravarthi there is a predominance of the so called *Isotachin* type of trichomes. Its generic name *Leptothrix* is represented by only one preceding one with widest nose which points to the fact of a pre-hire but evident but is present in our subjects—which may be called the *Nishchayani* or Guards.

The Nalsas live together in colonies and build their huts close to one another. In a typical Nalsas colony the huts are all arranged in parallel rows in one direction facing the wind so that their habitations can be easily found from the ravages of storms well known in those areas. There are several such rows parallel to one another and the open spaces between any two parallel series serve the purpose of passage. But it seems the spacing is not planned but left at random. In a single row often there are fifty huts and in a typical colony there are usually ten or twelve such rows. The house of an individual is very simple. Usually for a family there are three rooms and a courtyard at the back (western side) where kitchen vegetables are grown. Usually each family keeps ducks and breed them and there are shelters for them under the portion of their huts. The height of the hut is generally 2' and breadth 8', the front portico being raised 3'. There is only one window at the front and one main door. The walls are built of mud plaster and white washed. The roof is thatched with straw and bamboo ~~and~~ with strings of popna. The wooden part (the jetties and door steps) with Alpana in very handsome designs. They have no furniture save bed except a few utensils—sleeping mats and their instruments of occupation. The Nalsas are very ignorant of hygiene and though they are a little bit dirty inside their houses they are very filthy outside and throw all the refuse on the open space the middle of which is always filled with rubbish and serves as the public dustbin. The local municipality

七、蒙古人打獵



蒙古人打獵

八、蒙古人



蒙古人

does not take any care and when an epidemic breaks out it often takes the most virulent form.

As regards their daily food they usually take tea steeped in water with dried cooked fish in the morning. Their midday meal consists of hot rice and salt. In the evening their menu is something better rice, rice and curry. When the men work on the shore their women bring them their food. On Mondays in the month of Kartik they observe fast. During Deepavali and Dussehra they take only bread.

The ordinary daily dress of the Nulis is simple enough and there is nothing peculiar. They wear common white coarse cloth round their waist and above the knees and generally carry a napkin. Sometimes they wear a turban of cloth on their head. Their ceremonial dress consists usually of the white cloth worn round their waist down to the knees. Sometimes they use chadar. So far as is known they have no seasonal dress.

The Nulis tribe is not economically independent. They are financially dependent i.e., they have to depend on others for their subsistence. Their hours for labour are from four in the morning till 12 noon during March to November. Those who stay on during these hours generally do the knitting. From November to February fishing is continued day and night. They keep awake the whole of the night on the sea beach and watch for signs of the fish. The woman's hours of work are from morning to noon when they prepare food and convey it to the men on the beach. Some women do the work of day labourers and thereby earn a living. The usual bedet is taken on the Deepavali day. The average income (November to February) of approximately ten to twelve men with one net is Rs 100. There may be forty such groups working on the beach at Puri. From March to October the daily individual income is six annas for women four annas. The average income of a family of 5 members is Rs 1. Average expenditure (necessities) is eight annas but there are supplementary expenses too. The men are heavy smokers and sometimes they drink too much and incur loss. It will be seen that from the income during March to November they will have to spend all for their food. Their savings are from what they obtain during November to February. The only means of life they deal with is the fish, the woman supply the labour. Their instruments of production

are the boat net, thread, tuning materials, barks, books, wood, cloth, gun, particular areas of the sea, carpenter's tools. They make all their instruments with their own hands except the carpenter's tools which they buy. Ownership is individual and there is no class distinction or ownership. But there is a good deal of social co-operation in their activity. The Magan has a legend on the good will of the rivets and here is remarked: "It is of each in its own group."

There are some interesting features which we noticed in the marriage system of the Nams. All the members of the two sections of the Nambiar—the Western and the Kerali—constantly speak of their exogamic purity to Nams, so that it seems the Gora does not interfere in their marriages which are regulated by their own groups. On the Cochin coast there are also such exogamous groups; there may be a few more in the Travancore and the Veng coast. Usually the Nams marry early. As a rule the respective ages of the boy and the girl are 17-18 and 12-13. It is really important that the consent of the girl be obtained, or essential to make a valid marriage. The consent is obtained before an assembly of the elders. Coercive methods to induce consent is never adopted, and, if detected, would make the marriage null and void. The ceremony is celebrated in the place of the bridegroom. The marriage ritual is elaborate. Here only a few salient points are described. After the formal ceremonies of Beldin the astrologer sets on a auspicious day and a priest is engaged. It will be seen that a Upadi—a member of a privileged family from which the administrator of the village is selected—has a prominent part to play and it is also interesting to note that nowhere except in the marriage ritual a priest is employed. Many features are common with the Hindu—beginning from Central India but there are many differences in detail. After the marriage proper is concluded the couple are conducted in a procession through the whole village. At their return the passage to the entrance is blocked by the younger brother of the bridegroom. He makes some customary objections and lets jokes with the bride and when he often gives a promise that he will be married sooner he lets them go. It is highly significant to know in this wise that a widow may, if she chooses, marry the younger brother of her husband. But there seems to be no obligation. Any way we may infer that, though a bond

form, levirate exists among the Nubas. Three days after the marriage, the husband sets out with the wife in an auspicious hour, for the house of his father-in-law and leaves his wife there. Sometimes after the formal ceremony of second marriage is gone through and the wife then returns to her husband's place and their marital life begins. In case of a widow marriage the formalities are usually omitted. Divorce exists among the Nubas as a rule and is easy, for unlike the English laws, there are no prescribed reasons to show in order to obtain one. Simple disaccord may be the sole cause of a divorce but the Pandayet demands a fee of Rs. 15 and the party which seeks divorce must pay an additional amount of Rs. 10. But when sufficient reasons are forthcoming, this fee is usually excused. Cross union marriage is also met with, the union being with the mother's brother or daughter. Sometimes polygamy is found. For instance, a sonless husband may seek a second wife but never a third, and he need, at a rule, divorce the first wife. But a very interesting case recently happened where a girl fell in love with an married man and this resulted to a happy though a series of dramatic events that the man had no escape but to be reconciled to both women and the Pandayet had no option but to agree to a marriage. This illustrates the liberty and independence enjoyed by the women of the Nuba community. Divorce and re-marriage are necessary conditions of the honoured place of women.

The most important person of the Nubas is the king of Mandisa, the Mahadeva Narayan Swami who is called upon to dispose of cases of social disputes which are long waiting and for which no solution is forthcoming. He is the supreme ruler and there is no appeal beyond his court. The kingship is hereditary. Under the king comes the village chief or the administrator elected from a family of rank and honour, the family of Aork. And he is elected from an approved body. The man selected is the Urpeda in whose hands the key of local administration is given. But he may be removed by the Nuba public for misappropriation or maladministration and sometimes the king of Mandisa is called upon to settle the affairs and his judgment is final. Sometimes a village secretary is engaged under the chief. On his election the Urpeda must obtain the royal consent. Now the whole Nuba organisation is divided into 13 sections, each of

which is called a Birshi. The village secretary under the Upadhi is called Karpur and also there is a Birshi who is designated as Soma today. The Aunk family is held in esteem due to the customary belief of the people that the last village deity Aunk Balarama was born in that family who's members therefore take the name of Aunk Rama or Aunk Balarama and so on. The Upadhi is elected from an approved body of the family of Aunk. The offices of Upadhi, Kartri and Samantri are not hereditary but are held for life.

The Nadas call themselves Hoda and are in fact so far we find they weed-puller, doctor and singer. But here they go to great length in the word of the doctor that they can fix him and that very easily amidst about savage expressions of pain. They have a peculiar method of post, of one that of the Hindus in the form of a pyre. Now to the victim is tied hand and feet. It seems they have certain connections with the aboriginal people of the island. They assert that because their deities are cruel in nature really must be adopted to satisfy them. As the Nadas are unshables they have set up their own shrines at the village border where they worship the deities with all the usual formalities. Of their deities the chief are said to be Krishn and Mahadev. We had once the good luck of seeing the Nada or Peetha a family—the Peetha being once held by now perhaps similar to our Savarnikantha Puish. A dance by the priest and his followers before a fire is a feature of the ceremony. The song of Ram is sung accompanied by the sounds of the bell metals and in steps harmonizing with the sounds of the metals by dancer has a burning fire. The whole scene is spectacular in the darkness of the night. At the concluding dance the Hindu leads the chorus.

Now the chief deities have certain followers who are worshipped with the same if not more formal observances. Of these can be mentioned Auk-San, Eku-Sakti, Kural-Sakti, Dau-Sakti, Auk-Patana and Dusum-Sandaram. It is significant that Saktism is evident in their worship. These deities as they say, are not easily appeased. On any emergency the deity is said to demand for blood. In epidemics, famine and drought these deities are propitiated with the sacrifice of hens and pigs in any number. A fine

A sort of such a ceremony as the worship of the Saka has been given by Sir N. K. Basu in *Prasangika*. In an illustration by Basu and which followed the writer of a book whose front is torn open by the hands of the deities himself, the deity figures are the leaders of the community. It must be interesting to note therein that this division by means of an egg is a very primitive trait and that delineation of them must date back to farthest remote period. An opinion well known has drawn from this division in particular case. Sometimes even more cruelty is met with, particularly in the worship of Aksa Devata, where the sacrifice post is fixed on a cart and a pot of fire is passed through it. Then the people make a procession whilst lead cheers together with the parties cry of the exalted post. It seems that such a superstitious ceremony is a custom handed over to them by their more aboriginal Dravidian ancestors.

But it must not be concluded from those ceremonies that the Nalas personally are very bad. On the other hand when you meet the individual you will find a terminably polite rather shy, amiable and good-natured gentleman. But physically we can be sure from their movements they are very muscular, hairy and well built. They have also certain popular deities whom they worship with very simple innocent ceremonies. One such is the village deity Ganga Devi, which means literally meaning the Goddess Ganga, is really the presiding deity of the sea. This deity is very popular among the Nalas. They firmly believe that if they have satisfied Ganga Devi they have satisfied the great open sea which is the main source of their livelihood.

Labouring and struggling in the mighty waves of the sea for their subsistence the Nalas are seldom long lived and in very early. But though short-lived, their life is full of work and labour and the individual Nala is never idle. You will always find him at work in the sea-beach or in his village fishing or working on his net or sometimes mending his boat or weaving or covering the threads and so on. Even the Nala woman may not depend on her husband and not may earn an independent income, as you may often find her working as a day labourer. Apart from their regular profess in the Nalas sometimes work as railway coolies or as guides to the bathers and you will always find them fatigued and serviceable.

Let me conclude from what we have seen that these east coast fishermen of the Indian Peninsula contribute many interesting ethnological data, and social and religious features which when properly and more fully explored into will, we believe, offer useful analogies with and throw new light on other peoples of India and elsewhere.



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